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ESSAY

TOWARDS A NEW

HISTORY

OF THE

GUN-POWDER TREASON.

Wherein its real ORIGINE, CAUSE and DESIGN,
are candidly set forth, with some occasional Reflections
on the Impropriety of ECCLESIASTICAL SLANDER,
feigned PLOTS, penal LAWS, and other political
EXPEDIENTS for propagating Religion.

In a LETTER to the Author of a Sermon,
intituled, "The SPIRIT of CHRISTIANITY and PO-
PERY compared," preached before the Honour-
able House of Commons in St. Andrew's Church,
Dublin, on Thursday the 5th of November, 1761.

" If contentious Men can get Nothing against their
" Brethren, they will *surmise* there is Something : And
" if they can find Nothing in their *Actions* to judge,
" they will judge their *Hearts* : If there be Nothing
" *above Board*, they will think there may be Some-
" *thing under Board* : And from thinking there *may* be
" Something, they will think it is *very likely* there is
" Something : And from *likely* there is, they will con-
" clude *there is* ; surely *some Plot* is working."

PACIFIC DISCOURSE, *quoted by the Earl of Anglesey.*
(Memoirs, Pa. 304.)

LONDON : Printed in the YEAR,
M,DCC,LXV.

A ESSAY TOWARDS A NEW HISTORY



GUN-POWDER TREASON.

Wherein its real Origin, Cause and Design, are candidly set forth, with some occasional Reflections on the Propriety of Ecclesiastical Government, Penal Laws, and other political Experiments for propagating Religion.

IN A LETTER to the Author of a Sermon, published, "The Spirit of Christianity and Politics compared," preached before the Honourable House of Commons in St. Andrew's Church, London, on Thursday the 5th of November, 1761.

"If contentious Men can get Nothing against their
 "Brothers, they will favour: there is something: And
 "if they can find Nothing in their Neighbour to judge,
 "they will judge their Neighbour: If there be Nothing
 "above them, they will think there may be something
 "thing under them: And from thinking there may be
 "something, they will think it is very likely there is
 "something: And from what there is, they will con-
 "clude there is: surely some Men are working."
 Pacific Discourse, quoted by the Earl of Arundel.
 (Memento, p. 304.)

LONDON: Printed in the YEAR
 MDCCLXV.

INTRODUCTION

N. B. In the Note* (to Pa. 51) after the Word *uneasy*, there ought to be a Break thus---; there being no immediate Connexion, in *Burnet*, between that Word and what follows in the Note; but a different Cause of the King's Behaviour (*viz. Fear*,) is assigned in the intermediate Space. For Answer to which, see Essay, P. 19, 20. This Mistake, though merely accidental, is thus pointed out by the Author, to prevent any Suspicion of *Disingenuity*, in his Quotations.

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This image shows a blank, aged, light gray page, likely an endpaper or flyleaf of a book. The paper has a textured appearance with various dark spots, specks, and areas of discoloration, suggesting it is old and possibly damaged. There is no text or other markings on the page.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE Commemoration of great National Deliverance, by anniversary Thanksgivings, is a Practice equally useful as it is pious. That of deprecating great National Guilt, by anniversary Humiliations, is equally a laudable and religious Duty. In either Case, the Interposition, or Forbearance of Providence is recognized : And in every Case, the Necessity of Expiation for such Guilt is pressed home ; the Means of avoiding it are pointed out.

AMONG the wiser Nations of Antiquity, such Recognitions and Expiations were often solemnized, and among none more frequently than the antient Jews, the most rebellious of all Nations. Thanksgivings and Expiations at stated Periods, entered into the Essence of their religious Observances : And these Acts of Piety preserved them long, until they fell finally into a State of absolute Reprobation.

AMONG the Moderns, no Nations stand more in Need of such Commemorations, than those of *Britain* and *Ireland* ; as none perhaps have given greater Occasion to them. The Love of civil Liberty has often hurried them into great
a Excesses ;

Excesses : The Hatred of religious Violence, hurried them still into *greater*. An Impatience derived from the Inequality, and a Resentment derived from the Iniquity, of Parties, administered Fuel to the Fires of Discontent, even at a Time when all Parties were united by *the same* Summary of religious Doctrines. — When such Parties were once divided by various, and *discordant* Modes of Faith, and when religious Persecution was superadded to civil Oppression, then it was, that the characteristic Temper of these Islanders, has been fretted into a raging Distemper : In the Phrensy which seized on some, we cannot wonder at their Acts of Extravagance *under it*. They did by the Christian Religion the Reverse of what *should be done*, and what, in their Senses, *they would not have done*. They made their own inflamed Passions, the Interpreters of God's written Word ; and consulted or trusted to no other. They brought themselves to believe, that Actions which true Religion forbids, under the *severest* Penalties, received the Sanction of the Divine Approbation, under a Certainty of the *greatest* Rewards.

THE Use therefore of our anniversary Recognitions and Expiations is evident ; and it was a Part of the Wisdom of Government to appoint particular Persons (of the sacred Order) to perform the Functions of it. The Persons so appointed have generally great Influence ; and when their *Zeal* is seconded by *Knowledge*, and that

that Knowledge *by Charity*, no Men do greater or more important Service. They contribute to quiet restless Spirits, impiously discontented with their own Condition, and deriving their Disappointment, or Misery, from the Severity of the Laws, or the supposed Iniquity of the Law-makers : They labour to convince their Hearers, that it is their Duty to bear with legal Punishments, *however unprovoked* ; and that the *severest* often produce the *best Effect*, by improving the Piety, because they exercise the Patience, of Men. They instruct the Sufferers, to turn Repining into Gratitude, if it should happen that the civil Magistrate afforded a Protection, which *the Laws themselves deny* ; or, if such Compassion did not interpose, to draw Consolations from the Merit of a State of Suffering, (often the most salutary State that a Christian can fall into.) — This is not all : Such Reverend Preachers do great Good, by laying open the Iniquity of public Rebellion, the Horrors of private Assassinations, the Infamy of *religious Slander*, and the Mischiefs of misguided Zeal. They at the same Time explain the essential Duties of a *rational Religion*, and shew the fatal Abuse of *the best*, when over-run with the Weeds of Superstition, or Blights of Enthusiasm. — They particularly take *honest and indispensable* Care, not to charge on the *common Faith* of the People, the Iniquities of *drunken Bigots*, or *spiritual Madmen*, who are *of every Sect*, and who should, *on that Account*, be a *Reproach to none*.

SUCH, then, is the great Use of anniversary Commemorations of the Mercy of Providence, in the Preservation of guilty Nations; and such the Use of Deprecations to avert the Divine Vengeance. The Track of Duty is marked out; and if ever the Reverend Preacher should run devious of it, we would have great Reason to suspect that he must do it to serve Purposes *devious of Christianity itself*.

WHEN the Road is *straight*, and the Light *strong*, it is not hard to account for the Conduct of Men who quit *both*: Such Men are *wilfully* blind. But when, with *Eyes open*, they turn into Paths dark and crooked, their Motives are no longer a Mystery. — Then will civil and religious Calumny be summoned up to pollute the sacred Fountains of Truth: The *Heart of Man* will be preached into Bitterness *against Man*. — Persons inhabiting the same City will be taught either to avoid one another; or, if Nature be too strong for our little Partialities, and that Men of different Persuasions, must necessarily meet; they will be taught to meet as *Enemies*, and never part as *Friends*. — Thus will an excellent Institution be perverted to the worst of Purposes, to the spreading of Heats, and circulating of Animosities, thro' the Land. — The Pulpit will become the *Trumpet*, and the Preacher the *Trumpeter*, of Malevolence. — The Guilt of a few Miscreants will be fastened on the whole Party, with

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with which such Miscreants will chance to be connected. Every Source of Slander will be opened; conscious Untruths will be propagated without Remorse or Mercy. Innocent Nations will be the Victims of ill-placed Credulity; and they will be persuaded to think themselves in the greatest Danger, amidst the greatest Security.

If this should happen to be the Case at any Time; such *anniversary* Solemnities, would become *anniversary* Calamities, and the *anniversary* Preachers, *anniversary* Conspirators. This is not a hard Expression: Such Men contribute to render private and innocent Persons odious; they infuse a Spirit of Jealousy and Mistrust into *civil* Governors, beyond the Bounds of *civil* Prudence. They revive Prejudices, which are never revived but *to destroy*, because such Prejudices *divide* what ought to be *united*. Disunion is the Harvest of such Preachers. Thro' its Means, they become Dictators of the Opinions, and Directors of the Consciences of the Party they espouse. By being thus Masters, they help to bring bold Men forward, and put Power into the Hands of Persons, who obtain Strength from popular Prejudices, and who must otherwise lye in the Obscurity that weak Talents must have retained them; had not the Operation of these Prejudices alone, brought them into *infamous* Distinction,

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THE Case is still worse, when Prejudices throw Power into able, but dishonest Hands. Popular Rage, joined to popular Credulity, will grant every Thing to such Men. This Rage will be fermented, and this Credulity will be rendered boundless, by the most effectual Means ever yet devised; *that of the Pulpit.* By that Medium, no Treachery of such great Men as are here supposed, will be detected, until the Ends of Treachery are obtained, that is, *the Ruin of the Public for the Prosperity of a few.*

THE Truth of these general Observations could never be exemplified better, than by adverting to the Contrivance, Prosecution, and Consequences of the Gun-powder Treason, whereof so fair an Account is given in the following Sheets. — The King, a *crafty*, not *wise* Man, promised much, performed little, to his *Roman Catholic* Subjects. — He wanted to be disengaged from his Promises, and at the same Time, justified to the whole World, for any Departure from them. His Minister undertook to extricate him. With good Grounds he confided in the impatient Temper of his Countrymen; and hoped he could draw his Success from it. He was was not mistaken. The Punishment of a Crime, *which Nature had not made*, and which the Nation *once considered as a Virtue*, made *English* Catholics uneasy: They had Hopes given them of a Mitigation of their Pain; and the Disappointment operated variously. Among the
Majority.

Majority, it reposed itself religiously in Resignation: In others it took a quite different Turn. The Resignation of their Brethren they mistook for Indifference or Timidity, and their own Spirit of Revenge, for Zeal towards a Religion which all Catholics believed to be condemned without a fair Tryal. In that Idea, they conceived any desperate Measure laudable, to shake off Laws which pronounced the Ministration of that Religion *high Treason*. One Extreme unhappily produced another; and in the State of corrupt Nature thus it is. Sanguinary Laws, on the Score of *the old* Worship, inflicted a deep Wound, which was always open, and rankled daily in the Breasts of Numbers: This Wound was newly fretted by Disappointment, by Despair, and by the Contempt which gives more acute Pains than Oppression itself. All were grieved: A few only were enraged; and that few were *Englishmen*. Upon such a Knot of desperate Men, it was proper, in *political Prudence*, to fasten: And the Minister did not omit improving the Opportunity that opened to him. — They plunged headlong into the Snare: A Snare laid by their own Madness for Conscience-Sake, in the *first Place*, and by the co-operating Hand of a skilful Workman, in the *second*. They proceeded in the Work. They labored hard, and they labored deliberately, to ensure their infernal Purpose to blow up, in one Explosion, the ruling Monarch, together with the two Houses of Parliament, on the first Day of their Session. —

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THE Minister, however, who had the Management of *the Machine*, took Care that it should not play in *their Way*, any longer than it was convenient that it should play in *his own*. By one Touch of his magic Wand, this Machine crumbled to Pieces, and the Laborers were demolished under the Ruins.

HE all along pretended Ignorance of the Plot, and acted but one ridiculous Part, that of giving the sole Merit of the Discovery to the King alone, whose Sagacity soon explained the Contents of a Letter, which he, in his honest Simplicity, could not, after many repeated Efforts, decypher.—— The Game, however, was well play'd; and many Anecdotes of those Times prove abundantly, that the Minister was not a Man to start at it, if his Master wanted it in any Case, as he undoubtedly did in *this* before us.—— Thro' the *seasonable* Intervention of the Plot, the King was justified to the Pope, and other foreign Powers, for breaking his Engagements with a Party, whose Zealots were wicked enough to plot the Destruction of his Family, and the whole Legislature, at one desperate Blow.

NEVER was the national Resentment screwed to a higher Pitch against Popery and Papists, than on the Discovery of this Gun-powder Conspiracy. Considering the national Temper in in these Times, it should naturally, in the first
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Transports have this Effect; and it remains, (strangely indeed) a popular Topic of Abhorrence to this Day.—— It raged to such a Degree, that the King and Minister found themselves hard set, to stem the Torrent themselves let loose: For, in Fact, they wanted to let no more of it pour down, than answered the Purposes of Acquittal from former Engagements; as well as of withdrawing the Attention of the Public from other Objects, which the Court did not chuse should be pryed into. In that Embarrassment, the Monarch could hit upon no better Expedient, than a very unpopular one; a Sort of apologetic Speech to both Houses, exculpating the Majority of Catholics, and the Catholic Religion itself, from any Participation of the Guilt.—— This Finesse, it is true, had partly its Effect, by placing his Moderation in a good Light with foreign Catholic Princes: But it gave great Disgust at home.

THIS King paid dearly for his Tergiversation, his low Arts, and trimming Policy. He was charged with favouring a perjured, idolatrous, and detestible Set of dark Assassins, who could be bound (according to the Preachers of the Times) by no moral or civil Obligation. He was most certainly wronged by such a Charge; and to calm the Spirit he raised, he set up an odious Persecution against the Roman Catholics in *Ireland*. We call that Persecution odious, because Facts prove abundantly, that it deserves no

better Epithet. Odious as it was, it did the King no Service. He was still denominated a Favourer of Popery.

THE Necessity of developing Truths, which must be useful to the Public, in Times fitted to receive them, obliges us to be thus explicit on our present Subject. *James*, in other Respects, did *Ireland* more Service, than all his Predecessors in a Course of four hundred Years. He promulgated some good Laws, introduced useful Arts, and established an orderly civil Constitution thro' the whole Island, which happily operate to this Day. Had he reigned over Kingdoms unbroken by various theological Systems; and at the Head of a Constitution of Government, better ascertained than that of *England* on his Accession; History would give him a different Character, from that he now holds. It would represent him as a peaceable, and perhaps a wise Monarch. It would not consider him as a Genius, or a Hero.

THIS King's Affairs (as we have already observed) required a Plot. — The Minister concerted, matured and defeated it. He was not of a Character to boggle at the *Means*, if the *End* was attainable. Grave Protestant Historians charge him with a Share in the Guilt of the Gun-powder Conspiracy, and if he had any, it was a *principal* one.

It is indeed true, that it cannot be demonstrably proved upon him:—How is it possible?—He had the principal Proofs wholly in his own Hands. The only Person who could make him a Party, dyed, or was made to dye, in the Tower; No *direct* Light therefore can break in upon the Share he had, or could have, in the Plot. It is not in the Nature of the Thing.—Here (as in other Cases of Murder and Treason) we must be content with some *strong reflex Lights*, which, arising from the Circumstances of the Time, and *Character of the Man*, leave little Doubt of his acting the Part, which Historians have assigned to him in this, as in several other crooked Transactions.

LET it be, however, granted that we had the fullest Conviction of the Minister's Innocence. The whole Guilt would, in that Case, fall on a few audacious and youthful Desperadoes, ill instructed (as appeared) in the Duties of their own Religion, and repenting, upon better Information.

"The Accusation (says * an excellent Writer) that this wicked Project was undertaken in Consequence of the Principles of the Catholic

* See a Tract intituled, "Considerations on the penal Laws against Roman Catholics in England." London printed for R. and J. Doddsley in Pall-Mall, 1764.

" tholic Religion, is clearly refuted by the Be-
 " haviour of the Criminals themselves : They
 " acknowledged the Heinousness of their Crime,
 " and the Justice of their Punishment, as re-
 " penting Malefactors usually do. There ap-
 " peared Nothing in them of the sacred Forti-
 " tude of Martyrdom, or of the Spirit of Per-
 " sons, who suffered for their Faith : But, what
 " must appear conclusive to impartial Persons,
 " Nothing has ever been wrote to justify those
 " really concerned in this horrid Plot, or even
 " to extenuate their Guilt, any otherwise than
 " that some Catholic Writers have pretended
 " that the Plot was a Contrivance of the prime
 " Minister, and *Catesby*, a Man of desperate
 " Fortune ; the Tool employed, who drew in
 " seven or eight Persons, most of them rash un-
 " thinking young Men : That King *James* the
 " first, called the fifth of *November* by the
 " Name of *Cecil's Holiday* ; that he restored the
 " forfeited Estates, to the Children or Families
 " of those who suffered. But, however this dark
 " Affair may have been conducted, it is pretty
 " clear, the King did not imagine, that any
 " Tenets of the Catholic Religion countenanced
 " such a black Conspiracy."

In Truth, what happened in the Case of the
 Gun-powder Traitors, should, after sober Reflexi-
 on, have produced the Judgment and Effect, which
 it was *far from producing*. Their public Con-
 fessions at the Place of Execution, evince, be-
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yond Contradiction, (well-grounded Contradiction, I mean) that Perjury, Equivocation, and Assassinations, to serve *any Cause whatever*, were *no Principle* of their Religion.

It may be asked, (because the Case is truly lamentable) why the Judgment to be framed, and the Effect naturally flowing, from the Contrition and Sincerity of the Conspirators, should not prevail? The Answer is ready. Policy interested in Error, will counteract *those Judgments*, and prevent *those Effects*. Man, a ductile and flexible Being, is easily led astray; and when he is, the straight Road of Nature will be disagreeable to him: He will follow his first Guide, and none more than *the Preacher*, who is paid for guiding him, *out of that Road*. Statesmen, who want to divide, and govern by Division, ally with the Preacher; and between them, the Mind of this fearful Being will be moulded to all the Purposes that Ambition can obtain, from the united Forces of Deception and Slander. Why the Deception should be continued, after all the Purposes of Ambition are once served, is another Question; but none at all, that the Public is immensely injured by it.——For a hundred and sixty Years past, the Conduct of *English Catholics*, has pleaded in vain for their Emancipation. In the general, they have given Proofs, (the strongest Proofs) of a *civil Obedience*; which, in the Course of so long a Quarantine, should intile them to some Mitiga-

Mitigation of *civil Punishment*: Laws which, if rigorously executed, would soon extingulsh or extirpate the whole Race, are to this Day in Force.——Like the Sword of *Damocles*, they hang by a slender Thread, over the Heads of these unhappy Men; and this is the Thread which some *Englishmen*, in their great Humanity, would now have put between the Sheers!——After all our *Experience*; after all our *philosophical Researches*; after all our *political Improvements*; thus it is! *Englishmen*, who for many Months past, have been pouring forth their mighty Panics of a *French Invasion*, by exiled Jesuits; call loudly for the Execution of the penal Laws against the Papists; and for bringing Men under the *Guilt of High Treason*; for no other Crime than ministring at the Altars, which *their own Ancestors*, have for many Ages, adorned with their Piety, and defended with their Zeal. Such is the Tendency of the mighty Apprehensions of these Patriots; and such their Appetite for a Reign of Persecution, under a Monarch, who has declared from the Throne, that the Happiness of ALL his Subjects is the principal Object of his Government:——Under a Monarch also, who retains the Clemency of his Royal Ancestors, as one of the most sacred,

* See the London Chronicle, and several other of the public Papers, published in the Course of eighteen Months past.

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cred, of his *other Hereditary Rights*. — Such (I say) is the Feeling of some modern *Englishmen* for their distressed Fellow-subjects! They clamorously bellow for Persecution (in the Land of Liberty) and Nothing is forgot in pressing for the Exercise of it, but the Use it can be of to the Public, at the present, or at any Time. — The Question then is obvious, (tho' it be shameful to put it) Whether *such* Inquisitors be worthy of the Name of *Englishmen*? Or, whether, since they want a Sacrifice, they should hesitate much on the Alternative, of making away with the Victim, by Hanging and Quartering, or by the speedier Means of Gun-powder?

It is truly painful, to say so much, and still more so, that less could not be well said, to explain the Intentions of some Gentlemen, who fill the uncommissioned Office of instructing the Public, in public Papers. Here we readily dismiss them, and beg Pardon of the learned Author of the following Tract, for anticipating so much, in an historical Deduction, on what he has handled with sufficient Extent. His Purpose is to unite and reconcile, not to inflame. He hath collected his Materials with great Judgment, and great Honesty: The Inferences he draws, and Reflexions he makes, are worthy of our closest Attention, because they are of the utmost Importance. — The Whole is in the Spirit of his former Productions, calculated to make Men wiser, and consequently
more

more useful, than they could, or can be, under the Dominion, or, more properly, the Slavery of Prejudices, equally destructive of our Morals, as Christians, and of our common Interests, as Men.

THE Writing of the Work before us, was owing to a Sermon preached in *Dublin*, on the Anniversary of the Gun-powder Treason.—— It was deemed proper to put that Affair in a clear Light, because the Preacher has not done it.—— Through the greater Part of his Discourse, his Assertions and Reasonings are *injurious*: For all Assertions and Reasonings are so, *that are not true*. They were injurious to the august Auditory he deceived, and highly so, to the People he misrepresented. He doth not cast the Odium of that Plot on a few guilty Miscreants alone: The whole Body of Catholics, who had no Share in the Guilt, are brought in guilty. And this he should not have done, unless he could prove, that the *Roman Religion* licensed, and that its Votaries justified, such Plots. Should it appear, on the other Hand, that the *Roman Religion* condemns, and that its Votaries detest, all such Practices; hath not the Reverend Preacher done great Injustice to both? Hath he not borne false Witness against his Neighbour? And is he not bound to Reparation?

BUT this to his own Conscience.—— It appeared proper to publish the following Tract at this

this Time in particular, as so many Rumours are industriously spread thro' every Quarter of the Kingdom, that the *Roman Catholics of Ireland* are now meditating evil Designs against a Government, mild and beneficent, *beyond most Examples of former Time*. — Never were any Rumours more groundless. — Never were the *Irish Roman Catholics* more sensible of their civil Duty : Never more united in the Discharge of it, than at the Present Time. — How could it be otherwise, without superadding the blackest Ingratitude to Infatuation and Treachery ? — Is it not to the Royal Indulgence alone, not to the Laws, that they owe their Existence in this Country ?

THE *Irish Roman Catholics* ought not to be called *Rebellious*, or rebelliously inclined, because a Number of beggared Cottagers have rose up in some Parts of *Munster*, and endeavoured, by violent Means, to gain some Quarter from merciless Landlords, (and those mostly popish Landlords too) who grind their Faces, and retain them *at this Day*, to the Wages of the *last Century*, though, *in the present*, the Value of Land is encreased three fold to what it was then, and is raised to double this Value again on the miserable Cottager ! — Can the Annals of Mankind, or the History of any other Age, or Country, afford a parallel Example ? — The Redress, however, of such a Cruely being demanded in the most lawless Manner, Govern-
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ment must answer sternly to such Demands; and while Justice overtakes these *miserable Criminals*, there can be no Excuse for the Cause which produced *the Crime*. Pity will follow such Wretches to the Grave, the Bed of their Repose, and the Consummation of their Sorrows! — Living or dying, their mad Conduct, (for Oppression makes People mad) will never operate on a wise Government, to involve Men of Property, Men of common Sense, or Men of sound Principles, in their Guilt.

THE Time is advancing, and we trust it is not slow in its Progress, when cool and dispassionate Reflexion will take its Turn in all our Deliberations; when clerical Misrepresentations will be taken for what they are, and no more. — When *Ignorance of what should be guarded against*, shall give Way, to *Knowledge of what ought to be pursued, what to be retained, and what rejected*. — Every State, no Doubt, has its *civil Out-casts*: Those who profess a Religion *favorable to the civil Government*, are not of the Number. The Protestant Dissenters are not of the Number, though many of the laboring People of their Persuasion have lately rose up in *Ulster*, and have been guilty of many unjustifiable Actions. The *Roman Catholics* are not of the Number, though the Cottagers of *Munster* have assembled tumultuously, and were guilty of the most violent Outrages. — In a Word, no Party, (in this Land of growing Industry and
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infant Arts,) should be sequestered from the Rights of Subjects, save only, such as profess a Religion, which justifies Plots, Rebellions, and Insurrections, against this, or any other civil Government, wherein *they* have not themselves civil Power, or civil Authority. — If there be any Party among us, professing such a *detestible Species of Worship*, their Principles would justify all the legal Restraints and penal Laws, the *Roman Catholics* now groan under; and many more should, I think, be framed for accelerating their speedier Extirpation. We not only advance all this, but contend for the Rectitude of it: If, however, Legislative Wisdom, should entertain a Jealousy, of any Party of our People, as to the *Sincerity* of their *public* Declarations; it will, upon cooler Reflexions, consider; Whether all their *legal* Miseries are not intirely owing to Sincerity? Whether, if their Church had tolerated the Violation of this Sincerity, their Condition would not be much happier than it is? Whether it be not easy to detect such Men, by putting them to the *Test* of their *civil Faith*, as dictated by their Religion? Whether also; their Acceptance or Refusal of such a Test as must be sufficient for the Security of civil Government, be not the only Touchstone of their *real* Principles? Whether, on the other Hand, it be not more reasonable to take their Principles from themselves, than from any Creed framed for them by their Adversaries, or by some anniversary Preachers of our own enlightened Times?

Whether such Men do not consider the Creeds framed for them by Calumny or Ignorance, as abominable, detestible and Antichristian? And whether in Cases which interest them so highly, they be not *themselves*, the *only* proper vouchers of *what they believe, and what they reject*? — Let us, for God's Sake, and our own, be no longer deceived, or draw Curtains between us and the Light which is glaring on us of all Sides. — His Majesty's *Roman Catholic* Subjects of these Kingdoms are as useful Men *as the Laws permit*. It will not be said, that they are *as profitable*; but, certainly, they are *as loyal*, as his Popish Subjects in *Lower Saxony*; where no legal Restraints tie up the Hands of Industry, and where no penal Laws add Despondency to Insecurity. Such they have approved themselves since the Accession of his illustrious House to the Throne of these Realms; and the Time, we hope, is approaching, when this Truth will have its proper Weight; and when the Wisdom which grants Security to well-affected Subjects, *of every Religion*, will not be confined to *Germany* alone. Why should not this be the Case? Why particularly should it not be so, in Lands which subsist by useful Arts, and which never can flourish as they might, without Security to the Artists. — It must be the Case, when Men who have no Interest separate from that of the Public, are prepared to *detect*, and equally ready to *reform* Abuses; and Reformation will come on the faster, under the Conviction that
of

of all Abuses, none wound the Public more acutely, than a Multiplicity of legal Punishments inflicted *in the wrong Place*; and this Conviction will operate *the more effectually*, if the Objects of such Punishments should be found considerable by their Numbers, and retained to Occupations, which necessarily, suck the Blood of the Poor, depopulate the Land, and hang a dead Weight on public Prosperity. — Under the Eye of Legislative Wisdom, the Industry and Acquisitions of such Numbers *can not be long licensed*, to prevail against the public Interest.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE AUTHOR of the following ESSAY is very little solicitous about it, as a Piece of Writing: All he proposes by printing it, is to lay before the Public some interesting Truths, which, he thinks, have hitherto been either totally suppressed, or but partially exhibited. Wherefore, if he has therein committed any material Errors, he desires and hopes to be set right, and will be sincerely thankful for such a Favour: But, if what alone he has aimed at, has happened; that is, if his historical Facts are found properly attested, and his Reasoning upon them just and conclusive, he is satisfied with the Consciousness of having *so far* endeavoured to remove some Prejudices that have long distracted Society, and disgraced Religion: An Endeavour, he presumes, the Success of which is earnestly wished for by all good Citizens, good Christians, and good Men.

THE READER will please to observe, that, as this imputed Conspiracy will be found, in the main, to have been no more than a *private* ministerial Contrivance of one, or a few Persons, to bring new and undeserved Odium on
Papists;

Papists; it cannot admit of those public Disproofs, from State-Acts and other Records, which more open and general Transactions of this Kind are some-times known to furnish. All the Evidence that can reasonably be expected in such a Case, is what arises from internal Marks of Fiction and Falshood, which this Conspiracy abundantly affords; and from diverse similar Contrivances of former and subsequent Ministers, for the same evil Purpose: From a short Detail of which latter, as hereafter set forth, it will manifestly appear, That no People under Heaven were ever more grossly misrepresented, or suffered more grievously by such Misrepresentation, than the People above-mentioned.

But it is not alone of the public life
 which more open and general treatment
 this kind of literature is to receive. All
 the highest human qualities are to be
 such a case as what we have seen in
 of fiction and falsehood, which has
 abundantly shown, and from which
 Contrivances of love and friendship
 there, for the same evil result. There is
 Detail of which latter, as I have said,
 will manifestly appear. That is, the
 Heaven was ever more greatly injured
 or suffered more grievously by the
 sentiment, than the people above mentioned.

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E S S A Y

Towards a New

HISTORY

OF THE

Gun-powder Treason, &c.

S I R,

I HAVE late down in good Humour,
and perfect Christian Charity, to expostu-
late with you on certain Passages in your
Sermon on the anniversary Thanksgiving for the
happy Deliverance from the Gun-powder Plot;
which Passages I find a Difficulty in reconciling
with the professed Design of the Sermon itself.
Wherefore, you will be so good to consider this
Address as proceeding, rather from the Love of
Truth, and from a Desire of being informed, and
informing others in these Matters, than from any
Itch of Cavilling, contradicting, or even criticising
on

on these Passages. For indeed, Sir, in endeavouring to demonstrate, in that Sermon, that it is the indispensable Duty, and distinctive Mark, of every true Christian to promote universal Charity, Peace and Benevolence, you have let fall some Expressions, which seem to me to have a Tendency to produce quite contrary Effects; and *that*, perhaps, not so much from Partiality, or Malevolence, as from the Want of sufficient Information in the historical Part of your Subject; which Want is far from being blameable, as there are no Histories extant (that I have seen) of this Conspiracy; but such as have been compiled by the declared Enemies of that Church, some of whose Members were unhappily engaged in it; and such, of Course, as, too probably, were written with a View to represent that Wickedness as general, and characteristic of their Religion, which was only personal, and peculiar to a few (a) nominal Professors of it.

AND

(a) " This desperate Attempt seemed rather of a private Kindred, or Acquaintance, than of any Religion; for (the Conspirators) *Catesby*, and *Tresham* were Sisters Children; the two *Grants* Brothers, and the elder intermarried with *Winter's* Sister; the two *Wrights* a long time Dependents on *Catesby*, and their Sister married to *Piercy*. *Faux* and *Key*, were but Serving-Men." Advocate for Conscience-Liberty, p. 226. Printed about the Year 1673.

AND in Truth, Sir, it is but too manifest, that your Notions of this Treason have been intirely formed on the partial and injurious Representation of it in these Histories : For, how else could you have asserted, that, among all the Rebellions and Massacres, that are commonly imputed to the Church of *Rome*, “ there is not “ a more flagrant Instance of the *destroying Spirit of that Church*, than the dreadful Stroke “ intended to be given, as on this Day ?”—But can you seriously think, or hope to make others think, that the few miscreant *Papists* engaged in this Conspiracy are to be considered as the *Church of Rome* ? or that that Church is answerable for their Villainy, because, truly, they were, or (b) pretended to be, Members of it ? Give me Leave, Sir, to tell you that this manner of stating Things is by no Means agreeable either to common Charity, or common Sense.—That none but a few miscreant *Papists* were indeed engaged

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in

(b) “ If these Conspirators were Papists, they were not “ so long before : for true Priests, and Catholics in England “ knew them not to be such, they being *never frequenters* “ of Catholic Sacraments ; and none of them *convicted*, or “ *known Recusants* before, as our Courts witness,” id. ib. this shews at least, that if they were Papists, they were so far from being zealously, or devoutly such, that they appear to have been even negligent of the common Dutys, which their Religion enjoins.

in this Conspiracy, is already sufficiently known : And I shall presently shew you, that even these few were ensnared and deluded thereto, by a wily and wicked Minister, who mortally hated that whole Party, and made use of this insidious, and diabolical Method to destroy it.

OF the whole Number of these Conspirators, (which did not exceed thirteen) no more than five, or six at most, appear to have been (c) conscious of the horrid Design against the King and Parliament. (d) Digby and Rookwood, two of the most considerable among them, solemnly protested that they were ignorant of it. Digby, in particular, declared with his last Breath, that (e) " had he known it to be so foul a Treason, "

(c) " A great Number of my Popish Subjects, says K. James, (Works p. 291.) had a confused Notion, and obscure Knowledge that *something* was to be done in that Parliament for the Weal of the Church ; but, for Secrecy's Sake, they were not to be acquainted with Particulars. "

(d) The famous Sir Kenelm Digby, his Son, was restored to his Estate by K. James. Baile's Dict. f. 290. Vol. 2d.

(e) Stow's Chronicle, p. 881. In some private Papers of this Digby's, written after his Imprisonment, and published as authentic by the Bishop of Lincoln, he says among other things

"son, he would not have concealed it, to have gained the World." And those few, who were privy to it, and undertook to execute it, were Men of dissolute Manners, and (f) desperate Fortunes, who had nothing to lose but their Lives; of which they were probably weary; and who expected to be great Gainers by the Confusion that was likely to ensue. Yet even they, at their Deaths, acknowledged (g) their Crime, and publicly expressed their Repentance of it. Religion, therefore, could not have been their Motive. As for (b) Garnet, and two or three other Priests,

things, "That he could do nothing but with Tears ask Pardon at God's Hands for all his Errors both in Actions and Intentions in that Business. — Did humbly beseech God that his Death might satisfy for his Offence. — And declared, as he hoped in God, that the Love of his Estate, and worldly Happiness did not move him to wish for Life." Hist. of the Gun-powder Treason. p. 243.

(f) See K. James's Proclamation on this Occasion.

(g) Hume, How, Stow, &c.

(b) "Garnet declared that, having received Letters from Rome to prohibit all Insurrections intended by Catholics to perturb the State, he informed Catesby of it, but Catesby refused, and said he would not take Notice of the Pope's Pleasure by him." Bp. of Lincoln's Hist. of the Gun-powder Treason. p. 188. Sir Edward Coke, in his Pleading against Garnet, owns, that "about May 1605, "Garnet

Priests, who were hanged merely for *concealing* it, they declared at their (i) Execution, that they

" Garnet wrote to the Pope, that Commandment might
 " come from his Holyness for staying all Commotions by
 " the Catholics in England, and desired it might be *so en-*
 " *joined upon Censures.*" *ib.* p. 168. Garnet also wrote
 to Rome for the same Purpose in August following. *id.* *ib.*
 p. 170.

(i) " Mr. Recorder attacked him (Garnet, at the Gal-
 " lows) once more concerning Mr. Catesby, and asked him,
 " Whether he would own, that he had discoursed with
 " that Gentleman in particular concerning the Gun-pow-
 " der Design, *and out of Confession?* If you deny it, said he,
 " we have it under your Hand, and will publish it after
 " your Death, to convince the World of your treasonable
 " Practices. I will not deny, said Mr. Garnet, what is un-
 " der my Hand; But in Truth, in Truth, 'tis what you
 " cannot prove." Upon which a Gentleman who attended
 the Execution, said, " We will try whether he knows
 " his own Hand-writing," and called upon one to produce
 the Paper: But the Person called to, pretended he had left
 it in his Closet. And Mr. Garnet, smiling, said, " I be-
 " lieve it will never be found." When he was got up to-
 wards the Top of the Ladder, He prayed for the King,
 the Prince, and all the Royal Family; for the Council, and
 all the Spectators. He desired that his Duty and Allegi-
 -ance might be signified to his Majesty. Then, after a short
 Prayer, he was turned off the Ladder: The Executioner
 was going to cut him down immediately, in order to quar-
 -ter him; but the People cried out, *Hold! hold! hold!*
 Their Rage was now turned into Compassion. And his Be-
 -haviour pleaded so strongly for him, that many of them
 owned, " It was a plain Contradiction of the Character

" his

they came to the Knowledge of it only in Confession; which they believed it was not * lawful for them to reveal on any Account, without the Permission of their Penitents; and that, when they were thus apprized of it, instead of countenancing or approving it in any Manner, they did every thing in their Power to dissuade and deter these Wretches from their Design of executing it, and had actually obtained their Promises to that Purpose.

BUT suppose, Sir, Religion had been their Motive, or something they mistook for Religion, like the frantic Zeal of (k) *Venner* and his Associates,

" his Enemies had given of him. And when his Head
 " was shewn by the Executioner; instead of Huzzas, the
 " Croud went off with Silence, and Discontent in their Countenances." MSS. Account of Mr. Garnet's Behaviour on the Scaffold by an Eye-witness. See Dod's Eccl. Hist. V. 2. f. 398.

* " He acknowledged (if we may believe *How*, K. James p. 882.) at his Execution his foul Offence in concealing the Treason, and asked Forgiveness from God, and the King for the same," &c.

(k) This Preacher, with Fifty of his Disciples, fallying forth, armed from their Conventicle in *Coleman's-Street, London*, on Sunday Evening, January 6th, 1660, slew many People,

fociates, who fancied themselves commissioned from Heaven to fall upon, and murder, all those they met in the Streets, of a different Way of Thinking from themselves: Yet, as the Fury of these latter Enthusiasts, who called themselves *English Protestants*, was never imputed to the Church of *England*, why shall the Madness of the former, who were but nominal *Roman-Catholics*, be ascribed to that of *Rome*?

N A Y, Sir, the King himself was so far from charging the Religion or Church of *Rome* with any Part of the Guilt of this Treason, that, in his Proclamation of the 7th of that same Month of *November*, he expressly owned that “ he was
 “ by good Experience persuaded of the Loyalty
 “ of divers Subjects of the Roman Catholic Religion.—That they did as much abhor that
 “ detestable Conspiracy as himself.—That they
 “ would be ready to do their best Endeavours,
 “ though with the Expence of their Blood, to
 “ suppress all Attempters against his Safety and
 “ the Quiet of the State;—and that they would
 “ disco-

ple, saying, “ If they were deceived, it was God that deceived them.” They all obstinately persisted in their Error at their Deaths, some of them calling down Vengeance from Heaven on the King, the Judges, and the Magistrates.”
 Hist. of the Civil Wars in England, &c. p. 421.

“discover whomsoever they should suspect to
 “be rebellious.”— This, I say, his Majesty
 declared, two Days after the Discovery of this
 Treason. How long he retained that good Opi-
 nion of his Roman-Catholic Subjects, and what
 singular Favours he was afterwards, always, incli-
 ned to confer upon them, shall be shewn in the
 Sequel of this Letter.

BUT because, Sir, those unjust Reflexions
 on the Generality of *Roman-Catholics*, and on
 the *Spirit* of their Religion, with which your
 Sermon abounds, seem to have arisen rather, as
 I said, from the Want of due Information, than
 from Partiality or Malevolence; I will now lay
 before you a clear, but succinct Account of the
 first Rise, and original Design of this Conspiracy;
 which has been collected, for the most Part,
 from the Writings of cotemporary and *Prote-
 stant* Historians.

TOWARDS the End of Queen *Elizabeth's*
 Reign, King *James*, apprehending that some Op-
 position would be made to his Right of succeed-
 ing her in the *English* Throne, (1) endeavoured

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to

(1) Bp. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, fol. 7.

to engage in his Interest her *Roman-Catholic* Subjects. For this Purpose, he not only (m) promised them much Favour and Indulgence, but also (n) wrote a Letter to Pope *Clement VIII*, wherein, after assuring him of the Lenity and Kindness of his Disposition towards *Roman-Catholics*, he devoutly subscribes himself his *Holiness's* most dutiful (o) Son. These Intrigues could not be carried on so secretly, but that they soon came to Queen *Elizabeth's* Knowledge. For in

(m) "The Promise our King (*James*) had made before his Reception, to the *Papists*, in Case they did not oppose, *I have found registered, and so high as amounted to a Toleration at least.*" *Off. Works*, p. 432. "It is certain, says *Robertson*, that, about this Time, *James* was at the utmost Pains to gain the Friendship of *Roman-Catholic* Princes, as a necessary Precaution towards facilitating his Accession to the *English* Throne. Lord *Home*, who was himself a *Papist*, was entrusted with a secret Commission to the Pope; The Archbishop of *Glasgow*, a *Papist*, was very active with those of his own Religion. — Sir *James Lindsay* made great Progress in gaining the *English Papists*, to acknowledge his Majesty's Title: Of all these Intrigues, *Elizabeth* received obscure Hints from several Quarters." *Hist. of Scotland*, V. 2. p. 209.

(n) B. Burnet. See Append.

(o) *Antony Wood*, in his *Athenæ Oxon.* mentions one *Giffard*, a *Roman-Catholic* Bishop, as sent by this Pope to *K. James*, in Quality of Delegate for Spiritual Matters.

the Year 1599, the (p) expostulated with his Majesty on the aforefaid Letter ; of which he had learned the Purport and Contents. And soon after his Accession to the Throne of *England*, (q) “ a Rumour was raised by the *Puritans*, that the King intended to grant a Toleration to the *Papists*,” which caused much Discontent. And indeed the *English* Catholics, confiding in his Majesty’s former Promises, did, in the Year (r) 1604, present a Petition for Redress of some of their Grievances ; wherein, after many warm Professions of Obedience and Fidelity, they gave unquestionable Proofs of their Sincerity, “ by undertaking for their Clergy, whose Loyalty was most suspected, that they should not only swear Allegiance to his Majesty and the State, but also that they should give in sufficient Sureties, one or more, who should stand bound, *Life for Life*, for the Performance of that Allegiance.” (s) About the same Time, but with greater Hopes of Redress, “ no less than seven hundred and fifty *Puritan* Clergymen signed a Petition to the King, and many more seemed willing to adhere to it.”

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But

(p) Sanders. *K. James*, p. 348. (q) Sir Peter Pett, *Happy Future State of Eng.* f. 225. (r) *Id. ib.* Preface. (s) Hume, *Eccl. Hist.* v. 1. p. 100.

But the Petitions of both Parties were equally unsuccessful.

O U R Historians, after (1) *De Thou*, generally attribute this Conspiracy to the Resentment and Rage of the *Papists*, for the Rejection of their Petition. Mr. *Hume*, (the Truth and Accuracy of whose historical Relations are not, I fear, always equal to their * Wit and Elegance) has not scrupled to (u) adopt this Mistake; and, on that Presumption, has represented this Treason as general to their whole Party, after having first pronounced it, " a Fact as *certain* as it *appears incredible*."

Y O U will, no doubt, Sir, allow that Mr. *Hume*, at the Distance of near an hundred and fifty Years, could not pronounce this Matter, as he has stated it, *certain*, from any other Evidence, but such Circumstances and Reports as may have made it *appear* so to him. But as I shall presently demonstrate, that there are, on the other Hand, such Circumstances, and Reports, as make

(1) Hist. Lib. 135. An. 1605.

* Concessum est Retoribus Ementiri in Historiis, ut aliquid dicere possint *Argutius*. Cic. in Bruto Cap. 11.

(u) Reign of the *Stuarts*. V. 1. p. 31, 34.

make so general a Charge *appear*, not only incredible, but false; you will yourself be able to decide, which of these Appearances ought most to be relyed on; those of its Certainty, which he has produced; or those of its Falsehood, which I am going to produce.

IN the Nature of Things, Sir, Causes must be always proportioned to their Effects: But, by comparing the Atrocity of this Crime, and the then Disposition of the Party accused of it, with the Slightness of the Provocation assigned; we shall find that such Proportion is, in this Case, intirely (w) wanting. They must have been

(w) Many, and miserable are the Shifts of the adverse Writers on this Subject, to find out a Cause capable of provoking the Roman-Catholics of that Time to this horrible Undertaking. The Bp. of *Lincoln*, in the Preface to his History of this Plot, alledges for that Purpose, over and above what has been mentioned, "a Protestation made by " his Majesty on the 12th of February 1604, in the Star-
" Chamber, which was publicly declared afterwards to
" the Lord Chancellour, all the Judges, Bishops, and
" great Officers of the State, Viz. That he never intended
" to give any Toleration to Popery: and that he would
" spend the last Drop of Blood in his Body before he would
" do it." But besides the manifest Insufficiency of such Provocation, the Bishop of *Lincoln* unhappily forgot, that, according to *Faux's* and *Winter's* Confessions, quoted and avowed by himself, the Design of blowing up the Parlia-

ment-

been Monsters of Men, indeed, (and such the few real Conspirators were) that could have been moved, by any Cause whatever, to destroy, at one Blow, the King, the Royal Family, the Lords, and the Commons; and to bury all (Friends and Foes) in one common Ruin. But it is quite out of Nature to suppose, that Resentment of the trifling Injury alledged could have induced a *whole* People, among whom, doubtless, were many honest and sensible Men, to resolve coolly on so mad, and so horrible an Undertaking; and (x) to "continue firm in that Resolution for near a Year and a half, without Compunction or Remorse," notwithstanding they must have foreseen, that the very Success of their Project would have probably "excited the Populace, then unrestrained by any Authority, to satiate their Revenge by an universal Massacre of all the Catholics."

A D D to this, Sir, that from *James's* Accession to the *English* Throne, in 1603, to the 5th of *Novem-*

ment-house, was (as hereafter mentioned) previous, by many Months, to this Protestation; and had been resolved upon in the Beginning of Lent 1603; and even some Time before the King's Arrival in England. See that History, p. 49, 50.

(x) *Hume's* Reign of the *Stuarts*.

November, 1605, no material (y) Provocation had been given to the *Papists*, either by the Court, or the Parliament. Hardly any new penal Laws had been enacted; nor do we find that the old were more rigorously executed, in any Respect, against them, than they were against the *Protestant* Recusants themselves. On the Contrary, (z) "the King had made it appear, "on a thousand Occasions, that he was far from "being an Enemy to their Religion; (a) and at "that very Juncture, had suspended the Execu-
tion,"

(y) " 'Tis true K. James's Council, suspecting that "he would be too favourable to Catholics, which they "judged from his Behaviour towards them in Scotland, put "him upon issuing forth a severe Proclamation for banish- "ing all Jesuits, and seminary Priests. But it afterwards "appeared by his Speech in Parliament, in March 1604, "that he had no Design to proceed to Extremities; or to "use the same Rigor against the Party, as had been used in "the late Reign." *Dod's Eccl. Hist.* V. 2d. f. 326.

(z) *Rapin's K. James*: "In the Beginning of his (K. "James's) Reign, he set at Liberty all Jesuits and Priests "that were imprisoned, &c. and as for other reculant Pa- "pists, &c. he freed them from all pecuniary Mulcts, im- "posed upon them by the Law; honoured many of them "with Knighthood; gave them free Access to his Court "and Presence; bestowed equal Favours upon them with "their Opposites in Profession &c." *God and the King*, published by his Majesty's Command, p. 20. 21.

(a) Sir Peter Pett. Hap. &c. f. 14.

"tion of former Laws against them ; had re-
 "mitted the Arrears of what they owed Queen
 "Elizabeth, for pecuniary Penalties ; nay, and
 "had given into their Hands what Money of
 "theirs, his Due, was left in the Exchequer."
 In his Speech, at the opening of the Session, in
 1604, he mentioned them in such a Manner as
 shewed his Intention to bespeak, not the Severi-
 ty, but the Lenity and Indulgence, of Parlia-
 ment towards them. He told that Parliament,
 that (b) "the Roman-Catholic Church was the
 "Mother-Church, defiled indeed with some In-
 "firmities ; but that, as he would not wish a
 "sick Man's Death, so he would not have the
 "Papists punished in their Bodies, for the Errors
 "of their Minds.— That, for his Part, he was
 "ever averse to Persecution, as he hoped those
 "of that Profession had Proofs, since his first
 "coming. That, instead of increasing their
 "Burdens, he had always lightened them, as
 "far as either Time, Occasion, or Law, would
 "permit.— That, even then, he had been care-
 "ful to revise, and consider deeply, upon the
 "Laws already made against them, that some
 "Overture might be made to the present Parli-
 "ament for clearing those Laws by Reason, in
 "Case

(b) Rapin K. James.

" *Case they had been in Times past further, or more*
 " *rigorously extended, than the Meaning of the*
 " *Laws was.*"

B u c h, Sir, was his Majesty's avowed, and
 well-known Benevolence towards the Roman-Ca-
 tholics, in 1604; a Benevolence, which even the
 Discovery of this Treason seems not to have ef-
 faced, or lessened: For, in his Speech to Parlia-
 ment immediately after that Discovery, " he
 " took great Care, (c) says *Rapin*, to clear the
 " *Catholic Religion*, and ascribed the Plot to such
 " of its Professors *only*, as were imbued with the
 " detestable King-killing and deposing Doctrine;
 " of whom, he said, there were not *many*; and
 " that it would be *extremely injurious* to accuse
 " the *Catholics in general* on that Account." Af-
 " ter which he (d) prorogued the Parliament.

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" So

(c) Ib. In that Speech is the following remarkable Pas-
 sage, among many others of the same Kind. " For my
 " Part, says his Majesty, I would wish with those antient
 " Philosophers, that there were a *Crystal Window* in my
 " Breast, wherein all People might see the *secretest Thoughts*
 " of my Heart, for then might you all see no *Aliteration* in my
 " Mind for this Accident, &c. *Rap. K. James.*

(d) From November 9th till January 21st, for which
 Prorogation he assigned a Reason; which, indeed, shews
 that he had this Matter very little at Heart; and even, I
 think,

" So that, it evidently appeared, says the same
 "(e) Historian, that he caused them to meet
 " for one Day only, on Purpose to make known
 " his Thoughts of the Conspiracy, and the
 " Manner he would have it enquired into, that
 " is to say, *with Respect to such only as were*
 " *concerned in it.*"

It is not a small thing, that he should have
 " *Wonder, therefore, that (f) the People*
 " *were astonished at the tender Regard, which*
 " *he* *showed to clear the*
 " *land of this Plot to kill*"

" *think, that he did not regard the Conspiracy as real.*
 " *First, says he, neither I, nor my Council, was at Leisure*
 " *to take Order for the Apprehension and Trial of these*
 " *Conspirators.*" He afterwards tells his Parliament, "*it may*
 " *be, that I shall desire you at your next Session, to take upon*
 " *you the Judgment of this Crime, &c. that the same*
 " *Place, and Persons, whom they (the Conspirators)*
 " *thought to destroy, may be the just Avengers of their*
 " *so unnatural a Parricide,*" &c. id. ib.

(e) ib.

(f) id. ib.

* There are two remarkable Instances of this Tenderness
 in that Speech to Parliament: First his telling them, "that it
 " might be possible, *the Zeal* with which their Hearts were
 " *burnt up, would make some of them, in their Speeches,*
 " *rashly to blame such as might be innocent of that Attempt;*
 " But that he should be sorry, that any, being innocent,
 " should receive Blame, or Harm, for the same." And secondly,
 in Order, as it seems, to hinder them from making any new
 penal Laws on that Account, he tells them roundly that,
 "that was not a Place for *very rash, and half-brained Fellows*
 " *to*"

"the King expressed for the Generality of the
 "Roman Catholics on that Occasion." Nothing
 but his Conscience of their Innocence, to
 which the People were Strangers, could have in-
 duced him, in such a Circumstance, to ex-
 press that Tendernefs. For, to what else,
 Sir, can we reasonably attribute it? No Writers
 on this Subject, that I have met with, except
 (g) Lord Bolingbroke and Mr. Osborne, have
 offered the least Hint, or Conjecture of its having
 proceeded from any other Cause: And, what they
 have offered amounts to no more than a Surmise,
 that "Fear for his Person, and little Notions of
 "Policy, were the Motives which determined
 "this Part of his Majesty's Conduct." But,
 Sir, had that been the Case, would not the same
 Motives of Fear, and Policy have determined his
 Conduct in the same Manner, and in a much
 D 2 greater

"to propose new Laws of his own Invention; and that he
 "wished the old Lacedemonian Custom were revived; where-
 "by, whoever came to propose a new Law to the People,
 "should present himself with a Rope about his Neck, that, in
 "Case the Law were not allowed, he should be hanged therewith."
 In that Speech he takes upon him; (as, indeed, he well,
 might) to acquit the Pope, and every foreign Roman-Catho-
 lic Prince, of the Imputation of being any way concerned in
 or conscious of, that Conspiracy.

(g) Rem. on the Hist of Eng.

greater Degree, with Regard to the *more formidable* Body of *Puritans*, whose successful Rebellions against the Queen his Mother, and whose former frequent Attempts on his own Crown and Life were always remembered by him? Some of these People, Sir, had made themselves formidable in *Scotland*, long before, by this very Species of Treason; I mean the blowing up with Gun-powder; and our *English* Conspirators seem only to have copied their Example; a Treason, on the Part of the *Puritans*, not designed or intended, *only*, and by a *few* obscure, and desperate Men, as was the Case of the *Popish* Conspirators in 1605; but actually, and fatally * executed on their King, his Majesty's Father, and by Persons not less eminent than the Earls, *Morton, Murray, Botbwell*, and other ruling Chiefs of that Party. And yet it is on all Hands agreed, that he afterwards *ventured* to treat the *Puritans* in *England* with a great deal of unjust, and impolitic Rigor, through the whole Course of his Reign; and that

* Their Design was to blow him up with Gun-powder, which had been actually laid for that Purpose; but the King, and Sir Roger Aston, who lay in the same Chamber with him, smelling the Fire of a Match, leaped out at a Window into the Garden, where he (the King) was murdered, after which the House immediately blew up: This Account Sir Roger afterwards gave to King James. Saund. K. James p. 48.

that, at the very Beginning of it, he was *not* afraid to declare, even in that Speech to Parliament, wherein he makes such favourable Mention of *Roman-Catholics*, (b) "that they were insufferable in any well-governed Commonwealth." By which severe Censure (i) "he put them all out of his Protection," and set them at open Defiance. On the other Hand, we are told that (k) "the Catholics were then so few, that they were not to be feared on any Terms." (l) The Number of *Protestants* in *England*, in that Reign, was generally reckoned greater, by ten to one, than that of the *Papists*. (m) Even "in the Year 1604, the latter

(b) Rapin K. *James*.

(i) Lord *Bolingbroke's* Remarks on the Hist. of England,

(k) See B. of *Lincoln's* Hist. Append.

(l) See Sir *Peter Pett* Hap. fut. &c. f. 145. Doctor *John Donne*, Dean of *St. Paul's*, who flourished in the Beginning of that Reign, mentioning, in one of his Satires, the low Condition of the Poets of his time, says,

" Their State
Is poor, disarmed, like *Papists* not worth Hate."

(m) Sir *Peter Pett*, ubi supra. The Lieutenant of the Tower told Sir *Everard Digby* in 1605 "That, to his Knowledge, there were not then four Thousand *Papists* in all England." B. of *Lincoln's* Hist. &c. Append. p. 246.

“ter were but as an Handful to the former.”
 And among these *Protestants*, (a) “the *Pari-*
sans were thought to be more vigorous than
 “any others; that is, (says my Author) more
 “ardent, quick, bold and resolute; and to have
 “a great Part of the best Captains and Soldiers
 “on their Side.” It must surely appear a very
 strange Sort of Cowardice, or Policy in a
 Prince, to proscribe, and abuse the more power-
 ful Party of his supposed Enemies, and, at the
 same Time, to flatter and favour the weakest and
 most insignificant!

BUT, to return to the Year 1604: — You
 have seen, Sir, at that Period, such a Dispositi-
 on in his Majesty towards the Generality of *Ro-*
man-Catholics; as, instead of exciting, would
 have naturally stifled, Disaffection in them, if any
 they had: Nor, indeed, does it any where ap-
 pear, that they, on their Parts, shewed the least
 (c) unbecoming Resentment for the Rejection of
 their

(a) See Sir *Peter Pett* ubi supra.

(c) No wonder; for, according to *Rapin* (K. *James*) the
 King's Answer to this Petition was delivered in the following
 mild and gentle Terms, viz. “That he thought himself
 “obliged to support what (the Religion) he found estab-
 “lished in the Kingdom at his coming.” *ib.*

their Petition before-mentioned; as the (p) *Puritans* did for the ill Success of theirs, and that too in a Manner so offensive, (q) that "the King complained publicly of their restless and encroaching Spirit, and of the Malevolence with which they endeavoured to inspire the Commons." Besides, if what all our Historians are agreed in be true, viz. (r) that the first Design of the Conspiracy was laid near a Year and a half before its discovery; it evidently follows, that it was concerted *long before* the Catholics had presented their Petition. It appears by the Confession of (s) *Winter*, one of these Conspirators, that the Design of blowing up the Parliament House had been thought of in the the Beginning of

Lent
his Majesty's Promises to the People, was in a
another Respect, the original Cause of this Con-

(A) The Puritans had some Cause of Resentment given them on that Occasion: for the Lords and Judges in the Star-Chamber had, it seems, resolved, "that their Petition was an Offence punishable at discretion; and very near Treason, and Felony in the Punishment, for that it tended to the Raising of Sedition, Rebellion and Discontent among the People, &c." And all the Lords declared, that some of the Puritans had raised a false Rumour of the King, how he intended to grant a Toleration to Papists. *Sir Peter Pett. Hap. fut. State of &c. f. 224.*

(q) *Hume, Reign of the Stu.*

(r) *Hume &c. &c.*

(s) *B. of Lincoln's Hist. of the Gun-Powder Treason.*

Lent 1603, and even before his Majesty's Arrival in *England*: Whereas the Catholic's Petition was not presented until some time in (1) 1604. At the time too of presenting that Petition, they were, as you have seen, so far from meditating a Conspiracy, that "they offered to stand bound, *Life for Life*, for the "*Loyalty of their Clergy*."

These Considerations, Sir, which are grounded on Facts, render this matter, if not altogether incredible, at least extremely doubtful and *uncertain*.

And yet, I confess, there is abundant Reason to believe, that the *intended* Non-performance of his Majesty's Promises to the *Papists*, was in another Respect, the *occasional* Cause of this Conspiracy, though not of any really designed Mischief to either the King or the Parliament. Secretary Cecil, that renowned (u) Adept in State-tricks,

(c) Sir Peter Pett. *Hap. fut. Stat. &c. Preface*.

(u) Osborne calls him "a famed Professor in Tricks." Works, p. 37. 88. Many suspected at first, that the Plot for which Sir Walter Raleigh afterwards lost his Head was merely a Contrivance of Cecil's. Hume. &c.

In (1) B. of Lambeth's Hist. of the Gun-Powder Treason.

tricks, in Order to disengage his Majesty from these Promises, to endear him to the *Puritans*, (by furnishing a Pretence for making new and severe Laws against *Papists*;) and for other material Purposes, which will just now appear; is thought to have contrived this iniquitous Scheme; and, by Bribery, Promises of Pardon, or some other unknown Artifice, to have seduced one or two (*w*) profligate *Roman-Catholics* to concur in it; who, being themselves deceived, did draw into the same Snare a few others of the same Profession. *Cecil's* chief and leading Tool in this Business, seems to have been *Tresham*. This unhappy Gentleman had too many Temptations to this Baseness, and too little Integrity

E

to

In one of the Epitaphs written for him at the Time of his Death, are these two remarkable Lines.

“Owning a Mind of dismal Ends,

As *Traps* for Foes, and *Tricks* for Friends.”

Obs. p. 459.

“*Cecil* (says *Saunderson* in *K. James* p. 382) was a true Inheritor of his Father's (*Burleigh's*) Wisdom, and by him trained up in the future Perfections of a judicious Statesman: Now, it was a Piece of Wit in *Qu. Elizabeth's* Days, (says *Ld. Castlemain*) to draw men into such Devices; nor were any more excellent in the Art, than *Burleigh* and *Wal-singham*.” *Cath. Apol.* p. 403

(*w*) The King in his Proclamation on this Occasion, calls these Conspirators “Men of lewd Lives, insolent Dispositions, and, for the most Part, of desperate Fortunes.”

In

to resist them. He was not unknown to that Minister ; had been at some (x) private Meetings with him on the Affairs of the Catholics ; had more than once received his (z) Pardon for a capital Offence under his Administration ; and but a few Hours before his Death * confessed, That, " in Consideration of that Pardon, and to " satisfy the Lords of the Council, he had given in Examinations against Garnet which " were

(x) See Dodd's Eccles. Hist. Vol. 2nd.

(z) Sir Everard Digby in one of his private Letters from the Tower, says, " I have not named any either living or dead, " that should hurt my Lord Salisbury." (Cecil) B. of Lincoln's Hist. Append.

(*) He was thought to have been concerned in the B. of Essex's and Sr. Walter Raleigh's Plots. B. of Lincoln Hist. &c. p. 95. 220.

* This he did in a Letter to Cecil, to whom, he desired that such his *Retraction* might be delivered after his Death. id. ib. p. 177. The following short Extract is all we have of that Letter, viz. " That, whereas, since the " King's Time, he had had his Pardon, and to satisfy the " Lords of the Council, who heretofore examined him, he had " accused Garnet ; that now, he being weak, desired that " his former Examinations might be called in, because they " were not true." B. of Lincoln Hist. of the Gun-Powder &c. p. 220.

"were not" true." While Matters were preparing for the intended Discovery of this Plot, he (a) often visited Cecil at Midnight: And when that Business was compleated, and there was no further Occasion for his Service, he was, it is said, carried off by a *Strangury*, in the Tower; a Disease seldom mortal; unless, perhaps, to those who happen to be intrusted with a dangerous Court-Secret; and are, at the same Time, at the absolute Disposal of a wicked first Minister.

I say not this, Sir, on Conjecture, or light Report. Our own most authentic Accounts of this Conspiracy countenance, and confirm it. (b) *Winter*, one of the Conspirators, declared, that *TRESHAM* only was suspected by them. This is also confessed by (c) *Saunderson* and others: Nay, so great was this Man's Confidence and

E 2

Self-

* "Even now (says the E. of *Salisbury* at the Tryal of "Mr. *Garnet*) there is current throughout the Town, a "Report of a *Retraction* under *Bate's* Hand, of his Accusation of *Greenwell*," (another of the Conspirators.) B. of *Lincoln's* Hist. of the Gun-Powder Treason. p. 228.

(a) Advocate for Conscience Liberty.

(b) B. of *Lincoln's* Hist. of the Gun-Powder Treason.

(c) K. *James*.

Self-security, even after the Plot was publicly known, (*d*) "that he hankered about the Court, " when all his Fellow-conspirators were fled and " gone." And as for the Manner of his Death in the Tower, Doctor *Goodman*, Bishop of *Gloucester*, avers that (*e*) " he was carried off by " Poison;" alledging the Testimony of *William Butler*, Doctor of Physic, by whom he was visited in his last Sickness.

I KNOW it has been asserted, that the before-mentioned Letter of King *James* to *Clement VIII.* was not genuine; that his Secretary *Balmerino* was accused, and convicted, on his own Confession, of having surreptitiously procured his Majesty's Hand to it; and that he was sentenced to die for that heinous Offence. But I know likewise that, notwithstanding Queen *Elizabeth's* early (*f*) Remonstrance and Resentment on that Occasion, *Balmerino* was so far from being molested for it, in any Respect, that, on *James's* Accession to the *English* Throne, he was (*g*) added

(*d*) *Baker*, *K. James* p. 433. *How*, *K. James* p. 880.

(*e*) Review of the Court of *K. James* MSS. in the *Bodleian* Library.

(*f*) See *Saunderson's K. James* p. 348.

(*g*) *Hume*, &c.

ded to his Privy-Council; that he continued in his Majesty's Favour for several Years after; that when the King first openly taxed him with it, (which he did not do until (b) 1609) he was, in some Measure, necessitated thereto, on Account of its being then publicly known, and complained of; for that (i) Cardinal *Bellarmino*, in his Answer to the King's Apology for the Oath of Allegiance, charging his Majesty with Inconstancy, and Breach of *Promise*, with Regard to his *Roman-Catholic* Subjects, objected that Letter in Support of his Accusation. I know also, that *Balmerino* himself, when unexpectedly questioned about it, did, at first, honestly answer, (k) "that he had sent it by his Majesty's own Command;" until seeing the King knit his Brow, he, either through Fear, or thinking *that* a Signal given him to screen his Majesty, prudently took the Blame of it on himself. I know too, that this capital Offender, after Conviction, was not only pardoned, but also restored to his Liberty; as his Son afterwards was to his Blood and Honour; and that, nevertheless, (l) "nei-
" ther

(b) *Saunderson's K. James.*

(i) *Id. ib.*

(k) *Id. ib.*

(l) *Salmon's Review of the State-tryals, V. 1st. f. 56.*

“ther he, nor his Family, could ever forgive
 “the Prosecution.” And what is more than all
 the rest, I know, Sir, that the unexceptionable
 Bishop (m) *Burnet* was of my Opinion, both as
 to the Collusion of *Balmerino’s* Tryal, and the
 Reality of the King’s having sent that Letter to
 the Pope.

THIS

(m) “A Letter, says he, was also writ to the Pope by
 “him, (K. *James*) giving Assurance of this (*viz.* that he
 “would connive at the *Rapists*) which, when it came to be
 “published by *Bellarmino*, upon the Prosecution of the Re-
 “cusants, after the Discovery of the Gun-powder Plot,
 “*Balmerino* did affirm, that he, out of Zeal for the King’s
 “Service, got his Hand to it, having put it into the Bundle
 “of Papers, that were signed in course, without the King’s
 “knowing any thing of it. Yet, when that Discovery drew
 “no other Severity but the turning him out of his Office &c.
 “all Men believed that the King knew of the Letter, and that
 “the pretended Confession of the Secretary was only Collusi-
 “on to lay the Jealousies of the King’s favouring Popery.” *Bur-*
net’s Hist. of his own Times. f. 7. Had this Letter to the
 Pope contained nothing but a bare Compliment, or Declara-
 tion of *James’s* Lenity to the *Papists*, without any further Ef-
 fect that was to result from it, it might, perhaps, have been
 easily counterfeited, and the Secret kept; but, as its main
 Tendency and Purport was to fix a popish Bishop of his own,
 as his Majesty’s Agent with the Pope, (and to request a Car-
 dinal’s Hat for him too) by whom his Holiness might be
 truly informed of his Majesty’s Conduct in that Respect; and
 by whose Means his Majesty was likewise to receive the
 Pope’s Opinion and Directions, as Occasion should happen;
 In this Case, I say, *such* a Fraud would never have been at-
 tempted, because it must have been quickly discovered.
 See that Letter. Append.

THIS Pope, soon after, it is said, stepped so far out of his Province, as to publish two *Briefs*, forbidding the Catholics, after *Queen Elizabeth's* Decease, to acknowledge any Person for her Successor in the Throne, who would not allow them the free Exercise of their Religion. These *Briefs* have been since objected by *Dr. Stillingfleet*, and others, as Proofs of his Holiness's Endeavours, at that Juncture, to hinder the King's Succession; and as designed Incentives, afterwards, to form this horrible Conspiracy against him. Whether this Objection proceeded from Ignorance, or Malice, I shall not take upon me to determine: But the plain Matter of Fact seems to be, (if such (*n*) *Briefs* were ever published) that this Pope, being convinced by the before-mentioned Letter of King *James*, (whether genuine, or otherwise, it matters not at present) and by other strong Circumstances, of his Majesty's friendly Disposition towards the Catholics; (and knowing at the same Time that there were other (*o*) Pretenders to the Crown, of a quite different

(*n*) "As for these Bulls, says *Mr. Dodd*, said to be set forth by *Clement VIII.* it was never my Fortune to meet with any of that Import; those I have seen contained only an Exhortation to the Catholics to remain firm in the Profession of their Faith." *Eccl. Hist.* V. 2. f. 334.

(*o*) "Contrary Pretenders at that Time were more than a few." *Obs.* p. 399.

different Temper, among the *English* Nobility, themselves, who grounded their Hopes of Success on the national Aversion then greatly prevailing against the *Scots* ;) did, in Truth, publish these Briefs with a View to * facilitate, and promote the King's Succession, and in Opposition to his *English* Competitors, particularly to Lord *Hertford*, (p) " whose Title," says Lord *Castlemain*, " was " often cried up to Tumults in the Streets ; he " being, after the *Stuarts*, next Heir to the " Crown." (q) Lord *Bolingbroke*, in Concert with our best Historians, avows, " that King " *James*, both before, and after, his coming into " *England*, shewed great Indulgence to *Roman*- " Catholics, and expressed favourable Sentiments of their Religion, on all private, and " many public Occasions ;" which Sentiments were

* Accordingly, it appears from the B. of *Lincoln's* History of this Plot. (p. 196. 203.) " that, after his Majesty was " settled on the *English* Throne, these Briefs were destroyed " by *Garnet*." K. *James* himself seemed perfectly sensible of this Pope's good Will towards him, when, in his Proclamation, 1603, he publicly " acknowledges himself so " much beholden to him, for his kind Offices and private temporal Carriage towards him in many Things." See *Hume*, &c.

(p) *Cath. Appell.* p. 364.

(q) Remarks on the *Eng.* Hist.

were undoubtedly well known, and most agreeable to, that Pope.

N A Y, Sir, Queen *Elizabeth* herself gave his Majesty to understand, (1) "that there were
" many Letters from *Rome* and else-where,
" which told the Names of Men *authorised* by
" *him* (though, she hoped, falsely) to assure his
" Conformity, as Time might serve him, to
" establish the dangerous Party, (the *Papists*),
" and fail his own."

M A N Y concurring Circumstances clearly evince, that this Powder-plot was, originally, a Contrivance of *Cecil's*. The *English* Catholics of that Time accused him publicly, (1) "as
" the *first Mover of it*, on Purpose to root out
" all Memory of their Religion, by Banishment,
" F " Massacre,

(1) *Saunderson's K. James*, p. 205.

(1) *Id. ib.* p. 334. "There was much ascribed, says
" the same Historian, to the King's Wisdom, in the Dis-
" cover of this Powder-treason; but the Jesuits had a Note
" of *Cecil's Name* in their Register; not against them, as a
" *Day-labourer*, that carried some few Stones, or Sticks;
" but as the *Master-Workman*, whose foreign, and Domestic
" *Engineers wrought in this Mine of Discovery*. And there-
" fore was he calumniated with many contumelious Papers
" and Pasquils, dispersed, like *Job's Messengers*, one at the
" other's Heels." *id. ib.*

"Massacre, or some such insupportable Pressure."

To which Accusation (u) he returned an Answer so trifling, and evasive; and at the same Time so peevishly abusive, that it really argued more Guilt in him, than his Silence would have done. This Charge hath been since revived, and enforced, by several Protestant Writers, and particularly by the Author of a *View of the English History*. King James himself used, jestingly, to call the 5th. of November, *Cecil's Holiday*; (w) as "Lord Cobham and others protested to have heard from his own Mouth." And *Saunderson*,

"when

(u) Id. ib.

(w) Adv. for Const. Liberty. Could his Majesty be really serious, when, in his Speech to Parliament on this Occasion, he tells them, "One Thing, for my own Part, have I Cause to thank God in, that, if God, for our Sins, had suffered their (the Conspirators) wicked Attempts to have prevailed, it should never have been spoken, or written in Ages succeeding, *that I had dyed gloriously in an Ale-house, a Stews, or such vile Place, but mine End should have been with the most honourable and best Company*" &c. B. 6E *Lincoln's Hist.* sec. p. 8. is not this, if understood, as seriously spoken, a Confession of some sort of Obligation to the Conspirators, for having laid the Scene of their intended Villany in the Place they did? Whereas, in Truth, that very Circumstance of their having deigned to destroy his Majesty in that Place, together with that most Honourable and best Company, of all the Lords and Commons, is what enhances the Guilt of their Conspiracy, beyond all Expression, and almost beyond Conception.

when he mentions the Statute, for the Anniversary Commemoration of it, as a Thanksgiving to God for that Deliverance, * says (what, surely, he never would have said, had the Deliverance been real) "of which a Man may hardly assure any long Continuance;" and then tauntingly asks, "Are we bound more to obey it, than the Statutes of God Almighty for the Solemnity of several Festivals, which all Christians observe, and we only neglect?" Certain it is, that the 5th of *November* was not observed as an Holiday in *Ireland*, for many Years after. For when (x) a Motion was made for that Purpose, in the *Irish* House of Commons, *An* 1615, it appears to have been so much disliked, that the King thought fit to have it laid aside, "not caring to do any Thing," says Mr. Carte, "to sour or alienate the Minds of any Part of his Subjects." But had the Danger, Sir, of that Conspiracy to the King, and Parliament been then thought *real*, and not feigned for a certain ministerial Purpose, what Subject would have ventured to oppose, so openly, an annual Commemoration, and Thanksgiving, for their signal, and happy Deliverance?

F 2

MR.

* K. James, p. 229.

(x) Carte's Life of D, of Ormond, &c. Vol. 1st. f. 22,

Mr. *Saunderson*, after informing us, that the *English* Parliament had, on this Occasion, (y) "given to the King three intire Subsidies, and "six Fifteenths," (one of the greatest Supplies, says (z) Lord *Bolingbroke*, which had been ever granted in Parliament) immediately adds, "And "Cecil, for his good Service, was made Earl of "Salisbury." Now, Sir, as this good Service was neither his having discovered the Conspiracy, nor his having explained the dark Meaning of the Letter to Lord *Mounteagle*, (for the Merit of the first was confessedly his Lordship's, and that of the latter the King's only) it is plain, that Cecil's good Service, in this Instance, was Nothing else but his having contrived a Scheme, whereby his Majesty had a plausible Pretext given him for breaking his Promise to the *Papists*, and for passing new, and severer Laws against them; by which Means, he, for that Time, became intire Master of the Affections and Purse of his *Puritan* Subjects. For in 1604, (a) "the "Parliament absolutely refused him a Supply, and

(y) Ib.

(z) Remarks on *Engl. Hist.*

(a) *Hume, &c.*

“ and the smallest Demand, however requisite,
 “ appeared in their Eyes unreasonable and exor-
 “ bitant.” But in 1605, says Sir *Peter Pett*,
 (b) “ after the Discovery of this *Popish* Gun-
 “ powder-Plot, the Parliament’s Belief of it fired
 “ the Zeal of their Supplies, and made the Mo-
 “ ney burn in their Pockets, and pass speedily
 “ into the Exchequer.” And thus, Sir, that
 great *Protestant*, “ who (says *How*) * had
 “ more, or not much inferior, Knowledge of this
 “ Plot, than some that were put to Death,
 “ for concealing it,” did, like the Devil, first
 tempt these Miscreants to the Sin, and after-
 wards punish them for committing it.

FOR

(b) Happy future State of England. f. 194. This Writer, touching upon the Objection of this Plot’s being a Contrivance of *Cecil’s*, does not deny, or disprove the Fact, but rather apologizes for it, by saying, “ That the *Papists* in “ such a Case, would have no Cause to complain of the Mini-
 “ ster, for bringing them into this Decoy of a Plot, to serve
 “ his own Purpose; since, adds he, according to some of
 “ their own Casuists, ’tis lawful, for a good End, to ensnare
 “ Men to Acts of Sin, so that, if a Protestant States-man had
 “ inveigled them into a Plot, and then hanged them
 “ for it, his Politics had squared exactly with their Morals.”
 ib. f. 241. If such *Popish* Casuists there be, (which I cannot believe) yet *Cecil’s* Politics in this Respect, were not, surely, the less odious, and diabolical, on that Account.

* K. James.

For a further Proof of this, if further Proof be necessary, let us consider the Circumstances of the (c) Letter to Lord Mounteagle, before-mentioned; the pretended Design of which, was to prevent his Lordship's going to Parliament on

the

(c) The Letter was as follows. " My Lord, out of the
 " Love I bear to some of your Friends, I have a Care of
 " your Preservation: Therefore, I would advise you, as
 " you tender your Life, to devise *some Excuse* to shift off
 " your Attendance this Parliament; for God and Man have
 " concurred to punish the Wickedness of this Time, and
 " think not *slightly* of this Advertisement, but retire yourself
 " into your Country, where you may expect the Event in
 " Safety; for, though there be no Appearance of any Stir,
 " yet I say they shall receive a terrible Blow, this Parlia-
 " ment; and yet they shall not see who hurts them.
 " This Counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do
 " you Good, and can do you no Harm, for the Danger is
 " past, so soon as you have burnt the Letter, and I hope God
 " will give you Grace to make good Use of it, to whose
 " holy Protection I commend you." *Saunders's James* p.
 323. Upon which Letter, I shall only observe, that, as it
 does not caution Lord Mounteagle against going to Parlia-
 ment particularly on the first Day of its Meeting (when the
 Mischief was to have been done) but only in general di-
 suades his Attendance during that Session: His Lordship
 might for Shew, Form's sake, or Curiosity, have gone to
 Parliament on the first Day, notwithstanding the Warning
 contained in this Letter: From whence it follows, that it
 was not sent by any of the Conspirators, or any Friend of
 Lord Mounteagle's; for either of these would have certain-
 ly cautioned his Lordship against going to the Parliament-
 House, particularly on the 5th of November, which, they
 knew, was the Day agreed upon for the Perpetration of
 their Design.

the 3th of *November*, the Day appointed for the Mischief. This Letter was supposed to have been sent by one of the Conspirators, and was delivered to his Lordship full ten Days before the 3th of *November*. — The Scheme of so early a Warning did, indeed, well answer the Minister's *Matthiavillian* Purpose; by affording him Time, as it were, to pry into, and gradually clear up, this intricate Affair; and was, therefore, deemed proper, to give some Appearance of Likelihood and Reality to the Plot. And thus we find the Piece was acted: For although *Cecil* had got that Letter on the 26th of *October*; yet he pretended to be so much puzzled about its Meaning, and was so long in finding it out, that the Cellars under the Parliament House were not searched until the (e) the 4th of *November* following at Midnight; which was but a few Hours before the Mischief was to have been perpetrated. But, surely, the giving such early Intimation of the Design, on any Account whatever, would have argued the greatest Infatuation and Stupidity in Persons really intending to execute it; as it manifestly tended to its Discovery, and Prevention; which accordingly happened, by

Means

(d) *Saunders. K. James, p. 323. Baker, &c.*

(e) *Idem.*

Means of it : Whereas, if we suppose that the Mischief was really intended, and that Friendship to Lord *Mounteagle* was the true Motive of sending that Letter, one Day's, nay one Hour's, Precaution, would have been sufficient for the Purpose, and much more consistent with the Characters, and Designs of these Conspirators.

BUT that was not all : After Lord *Mounteagle* had delivered this important Letter to *Cecil*, (which (f) he did immediately after he had read it) that Minister was in no Haste to communicate it to his Majesty ; but kept it quietly by him for several Days, until he returned to *London* from a Hunting-match ; when his Majesty (g) instantly discovered Gun-powder in it, to the great Amazement of all his Courtiers, who, until then forsooth, were totally ignorant of its Meaning. (b) “ And for his Majesty's *divine Spirit* in interpreting it,” says *Saunderson*, “ the Sums “ already mentioned were given by Parliament.” But, in Truth, Sir, it was an easy Matter for his Majesty, without the Help of a *divine Spirit*,

to

(f) B. of *Lincoln &c.*

(g) *Idem.*

(b) *Saunders. K. James.*

to interpret a Letter, which (if (i) *Welwood* rightly informs us) "was contrived by himself."

T H E R E is not, perhaps, in this whole Mystery of Iniquity, any one Circumstance that has been so artfully, and industriously perplexed, as the writing and sending this Letter to Lord *Mounteagle*: And this must have proceeded from an Apprehension in the Writer, that the Knowledge of that Particular, would have led to the Knowledge of other Things, which it was thought necessary to bury in Darkness, and Oblivion. The Conspirators themselves, upon the first Rumour of such a Letter's being sent, absolutely disclaimed, and (k) forswore it, to each other; nor did any of them, after their Conviction, confess, or claim it; though such Confession might have been then useful, or at least, could not have been hurtful to them. For, in the Supposition that there was, originally, a real Intention of

G blowing

(i) *Memoirs*. Dr. *Carleton*, Bishop of *Chichester*, tells us very gravely, "That *Cecil*, the Lord Admiral, the Earls " of *Worcester* and *Northampton*, upon Consultation had on " this Letter, resolved to shew it to his Majesty, for the " Expectation and Experience they had of his Majesty's fortunate Judgment in clearing and solving of obscure Riddles, and " doubtful Mysteries.." *Thankful Rememb. &c.* p. 196. B. of *Lincoln's Hist* of this Plot.

(k) *Saund. K. James* p. 320.

blowing up the King and Parliament, this Letter-writer, at the same Time that he meant only to preserve Lord *Mounteagle*, was the happy Instrument of preserving his Majesty, the Royal Family, and the State, from impending Destruction : Nor could his private Friendship to Lord *Mounteagle*, (joined as it was with the public Deliverance, accidentally wrought by it) have, in any Degree, enhanced his Crime : On the Contrary, the manifest Risque which he thereby ran of a Discovery, seemed to carry with it some Title to Favour, or Mercy. There was, therefore, no Reason for such impenetrable Secrecy in this Respect, on the Part of those Conspirators, who were taken alive : And as for those who were killed in the Pursuit, it is plain, from previous Circumstances, that they had no Manner of Concern in it : For, although they had heard on (1) *Sunday*, (about nine Days before the public Discovery) that the Letter was in *Cecil's* Hands, and that their Plot was thereby

disco-

(1) B. of *Lincoln's Hist.* p. 57. The Discovery, by the Letter, was made to *Cecil* and others of the Council, on *Saturday*, and not communicated to the King till *Friday*, following in the Afternoon. B. of *Lincoln's Hist.* of the Plot, p. 28. 29. Nor were the Cellars under the Parliament-House examined, until the *Monday* after that. *id.* ib. p. 33.

discovered: Yet they attempted not to make their Escape, (m) until *Tuesday Evening* following; which, doubtless, they would immediately have done, had they been conscious of having written, or sent, that Letter: For, in that Case, the known Truth, and Certainty of the Report, and Discovery, would have instantly determined their (n) Flight. — And although such of the Conspirators, as were taken alive, did freely acknowledge both their own, and their Associates' Guilt; (revealing even the Confessions they had made to their Priests, whom, by that Means, they rendered Accomplices in their Crime, and Partners in their Punishment) nevertheless there appears not any Glimpse of Intelligence from that Quarter, concerning this Letter; nor do we meet with the least Hint, or Ground for Surmise

G 2

(m) *Id. ib. p. 58. Hume p. 361. Nay, "Winter and Catchy, upon getting Intelligence of this Letter, resolved "to see further as yet, and would needs abide the uttermost Tryal." id. ib.*

(n) Especially that of *Guido Faux*, who was to have perpetrated the horrid Deed; and who was taken on the Spot, and almost in the Fact; this Man, I say, in particular, the other Conspirators would, for their own Sakes, have caused to abscond; because he was fully acquainted with their Design, their Persons, and Places of Abode; nor were they afterwards apprehended, or even sought after, until he had particularly informed against them. See *Hume, &c.*

in any of their Declarations, which were full and particular, that it came from them. Should it be suggested, that this Letter might have been written, or sent, by some benevolent Person, not engaged in the Plot; who, either through Confidence, or by Chance, had got Notice of the Design; I would fain know, what possible Motive could have withheld such benevolent, and unengaged Person, from warning the King and Parliament, as well as Lord Mounteagle, against that execrable Design? Upon the Whole, Sir, besides that these Conspirators had all, from the Beginning, bound themselves by solemn Oaths, never to reveal their Plot, "which," says (c) Mr. Hume, "they religiously kept for the Space " of near a Year and a Half;" the great, but studied, Obscurity of the Letter itself, and its not giving the least Hint of the particular Day, on which the Mischief was to happen, is a plain Indication, that it never was dictated by *real Friendship*; nor intended as a Caution against *real Mischief*. For then some Clearness, not a total Obscurity, would have been aimed at: And this Letter was deemed so dark, and unintelligible, that his Majesty, you see, was thought

to

to have had the Assistance of a *divine Spirit* to come at its Meaning.

We must, therefore, Sir, look else where for an Explanation of the Mystery of this Letter. Many Writers of that Time, *Protestants* as well as *Papists*, have given broad Hints, that *Cecil* himself was either privy to, or the Writer of it. (p) *Osborne* expressly says, that "it was a neat Device of his." And, indeed, if so, he could have had no other Motive for concealing it so artfully, but the conscious Fear of being suspected to have carried his Device much farther than the Letter itself. This Consciousness of *Cecil's* seems evidently to appear from his shuffling

* The Forfeiture of the six Counties in the Province of *Ulster* in *Ireland*, on Account of a supposed secret Conspiracy of the Noblemen and Gentlemen thereof, which was ever believed to have been a Contrivance of *Cecil's*, was brought about by the very same Means; "Anna 1607, says the Bishop of *Meath*, was a providential Discovery of another Rebellion in *Ireland*, the Lord *Chichester* being Deputy: The Discoverer not being willing to appear, a Letter from him, not subscribed, was superscribed to Sir *William Usher*, Clerk of the Council, and dropt in the Council-chamber, then in the Castle of *Dublin*; in which was mentioned a Design for seizing that Castle, murdering the Deputy, &c." (This was all the Proof.) *Berl. Hist. of the Irish Rebellion*. Pref.

(p) Works p. 437.

sing, and contradictory Behaviour, concerning it.
 For, when the Letter was first shewn to him by
Mounteagle, (q) " he greatly encouraged, and
 " commended his Lordship's Discretion; telling
 " him, that it put him in Mind of diverse Ad-
 " vertisements sent from beyond Seas, where-
 " with he had acquainted, as well the King him-
 " self, as diverse of his Privy-Counsellors, con-
 " cerning some Business the *Papists* were in,
 " both at Home and Abroad, making Prepara-
 " tions for some Combinations amongst them
 " against this Parliament-time; and yet, but a
 few Days afterwards, when he himself communi-
 cated it to the King, who apprehended Danger
 from it, " he thought good," say the same Hil-
 torians, (r) " to dissemble his Thoughts; in-
 " sisting to his Majesty, that there was no just
 " Cause of such his Apprehension; that the Let-
 " ter seemed to him to have been dictated by
 " some Madman; and, in short, turned the whole
 " Matter into a Jest." Yet this he did in such
 a Manner as made it answer his Purpose of dis-
 covering.

(q) J. B. of *Chichester's* Thank. Rememb. p. 194. B. of
Lincoln's Hist. of this Plot.

(r) Id. ib. *De Thou*.

covering the Plot, (1) "by leading the King in his Conjectures about its Meaning; while he, like an artful Courtier, gave his Master the Praise of the whole Discovery." "'Tis pleasant," says Lord *Castlemain*, (1) "to observe, "in most of the Accounts of this Business, how "the Letter appeared Nonsense, forsooth, to "Cecil; and yet with what particular Adulation "he all-along seemed to admire the King's Ex-
"position, and Comment upon it." In short, Sir, he that could have gathered, from that Letter, any thing like a *Popish* Conspiracy to blow up the King and Parliament, must either have known, before-hand, all the Preparations that were made for that horrid Purpose; or must have been really assisted by a supernatural Power (as his Majesty was sillily supposed to have been) on that Occasion.

I do

(1) *Hume*. Cecil knew, that the finding of the Gun-powder under the Parliament-house (where he was before apprized it was laid) would clearly prove the Justness of the King's Construction of the Letter; and, therefore cunningly affected to differ from his Majesty in that Construction; That the subsequent Discovery might appear to be the *sole Effect* of the King's wonderful Sagacity, and Penetration.

(1) *Cath. Apol.* p. 410.

I do not pretend to infer any Excuse, or Alleviation of these Conspirators Guilt, from their not having been the first to contrive this Treason; or from their having been seduced by others into a Resolution to execute it. Such a Resolution, however entered into, cannot, I own, be sufficiently detested. All I contend for is, that this Detestation should light only on its proper Object, the mad Enthusiasm of the few Miscreants engaged in the Design; who, though they had originally planned it, could not, in the Eye of impartial Reason, have brought any real Disgrace on the Religion they professed; as that Religion utterly condemns such Impiety; and much less in the present Case, when it has been made so manifest, that it was contrived, and fomented by one of a quite different Persuasion. Indeed, if Treason must be always characterized from the religious Profession of the Persons concerned in it, one would think, that such a Distinction should be taken, rather from the Religion of the (u) *principal* Projector, than from that

(u) What Sr. Edward Coke says, in his Prosecution of *Garnet*, seems pretty applicable here. "In such Crimes, the Author, or *Procurer*, offendeth more than the *Actor*, or *Executor*; as may appear by God's own Judgment, given against the first Sin in Paradise, where the *Serpent* had

that of the deluded Tools and Underlings employed by him; and consequently, that this Gun-powder-plot ought rather to be called a *Puritan*, than a *Papist* Conspiracy.

THE principal Ends of this *Cecilian* Scheme being now fully answered, the Malice of its Contrivers seemed somewhat to abate: For the (w) new penal Laws, enacted against *Roman-Catholics* on that Account, were, soon after, tacitly dispensed with. Mr. *Osborne*, a cotemporary Writer, expressly says, that (x) "the King only suffered that Parliament to meet, to sharpen Laws against *Papists*, that they might be the more obliged to him for stopping their Execution." And this appeared manifestly, not only from his Lenity towards them in all the ensuing Parts of his Reign; but also from his (y) Proclamation of the 10th of June immediately

"had three punishments inflicted upon him, as the *Original*, Plotter; the Woman two, as being the immediate Procurer; and *Adam* but one, as the Party seduced." Bp. of *Linc. Hist. &c.* p. 151.

(w) *Sr. Peter Pett's* hap. fol. St. of Engl. f. 126.

(x) Works, p. 440.

(y) *Sr. Peter Pett*, Obligation of Oaths.

diately following, wherein he declared, " that
 " he still desired to make it appear, through
 " the whole Court of his Government, that
 " he was *far* from accounting all his *Roman-Ca-*
 " tholic Subjects disloyal: — That the supreme
 " Dispensation of Clemency, and Moderation of
 " the Laws was proper for him to use, whenso-
 " ever he should find it reasonable: — That
 " Mercy was praised in the Almighty, whose
 " Lieutenant on Earth he was, as his highest
 " Attribute, and above all the rest of his
 " Works: — And that, therefore, as after-
 " times should give him Trial of *all Men's Be-*
 " *haviour*; so must *all Men* expect that their
 " *own Deserts* must be the only Measure of their
 " future Fortunes at his Hands, one Way or
 " another." Now, Sir, what greater Lenity
 than this, could *Roman-Catholic* Subjects have
 expected from a *Protestant* Prince, even though
 there never had been a Suspicion, that any of
 their Persuasion had formed this, or any other,
 Conspiracy against him? — And how happy
 would the loyal Catholics of this Kingdom think
 themselves at this Day, in such another Decla-
 ration from their Sovereign, with Respect to
 some of those numerous, and unprovoked penal
 Laws, which have been found so injurious both
 to

(6) them, and the Public, for more than seventy Years past?

Not was his Majesty's ensuing Kindness to these People less in Effect, than what he had so graciously promised in that Proclamation. (2)

"In the Year 1601, a Petition was moved in the Parliament for a more rigorous Execution of the Laws against Papists, and an Abatement towards Protestants Non-conformists, but both these Points were equally unacceptable to his Majesty, and he sent Orders to the House to proceed no farther in that Matter." (a) "In 1610, the Regard he shewed for Roman-Catholics, the Accords and Credit they had at Court, even to their being admitted to the most important Offices, and into the Ministry itself, begot

(2) Hume.

* "Upon the Discovery of the Gun-powder-Plot, there was a general Prosecution of all Papists set on foot; but K. James was very uneasy at it, and did immediately order all that Prosecution to be let fall; I have the Minutes of the Council board of the Year 1606, which are full of Orders to discharge, and transport Priests, sometimes ten in a day. From thence to his dying Day, he continued always writing and talking against Popery, BUT ACTING FOR IT." Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, 19.

(a) Rapin's K. James.

"strange Fears in the Minds of the people." (b)
 In 1614, "upon the House of Commons's re-
 presenting to him (among other Grievances)
 "that of the Increase of popish Recusants, and
 "of his admitting into his Council popish
 "Lords, publicly known to be such, he was
 "so much offended; that he dissolved the Par-
 "liament, and committed to Prisons several
 "Members, who had spoken most freely on
 "that Occasion." (c) In 1618, "the People
 "again complained, that the Number of *Papists*
 "increased daily, and that evens" one of the
 "two Secretaries of State was a *Papist*." (d)
 It was counted even shameful, about that Time,
 to put the Laws in Force against *Papish* Recu-
 sants; and such of the Magistrates as officiously
 did so, were branded with the odious Name of
Puritans. (e) In 1622, the King told his Coun-
 cil,

small (a)

(b) *Id. ib.*

"Upon the Discovery of the Gun-powder Plot, there was a general Prosecution of all *Papists* for or against the Plot, but not only a *Papist*, but an *Hispaniolized Papist*." (c) *Id. ib.*

"Sir Giles Calvert, whom *Wilson* (K. James p. 79) calls not only a *Papist*, but an *Hispaniolized Papist*." (d) *Id. ib.*

"Sir Peter Pitt's Hap. fut. St. of Engl. f. 146." (e) *Id. ib.*

(e) *Id.* Oblig. of Oaths f. 97. "the Number of Priests, and *Papish* Recusants, enlarged out of Durels by K. James," (f)

cil, in a set Speech, " that the *Roman-Catho-*
 " lics in *England* had sustained great, and into-
 " lerable Surcharges, imposed upon their Goods,
 " Bodies, and Consciences, during Queen *Eli-*
 " zabeth's Reign, of which they hoped to be re-
 " lieved in his: That he had maturely consi-
 " sidered their Penury, and Calamities: That
 " they were in the Number of his faithful Sub-
 " jects: And, therefore, that he did, from
 " thence-forth, take them all into his Protection:
 " permitting them the Liberty, and intire Exer-
 " cise of their Religion, without any Inquisition,
 " Process or Molestation, from that Day forward"
 In Short, Sir, both his Majesty and Privy-Coun-
 cil were, in 1623, so thoroughly reconciled to
 these People; so fearless of their Principles, or
 rather so confident in them, that, in the Treaty
 of Marriage between Prince *Charles*, and the
 Infanta of *Spain*, they solemnly bound them-
 selves

(if we may believe *Gondamar's* Letters from hence to the
 King of *Spain*; or the Letter of *Serica*, that King's Secre-
 tary, from *Madrid*, July 7th 1622, to Mr. *Cottington*,) was
 no less than four thousand." See *Sr. Peter Pett* Obl. of Oaths f.
 145. The same Writer tells us, " that there were in Offices,
 " and Places of Trust, in 1624, eleven *Papish* Lords, and
 " eighteen *Papish* Knights, besides many other Persons of
 " Quality, who were in Places of Charge and Trust in their
 " several Countries." Ib. f. 90. 100.

stives (f) by Oath, in Case that Treaty succeeded, not only that the new penal Laws against *Papists* should not be put in Force; but also, that there should be a perpetual Toleration of their Religion, in all the three Kingdoms; and that his Majesty would use his utmost Endeavours, to induce the Parliament to revoke, and abrogate whatever Laws of that Kind were formerly enacted against them.

KING James had received his Education from the *Protestants*, and was always, speculatively at least, attached to their Principles: Yet it is well known, that, notwithstanding this Bias in their Favour, he never forgave them the Trou-

(f) Id. ib. " Among other Members of the Privy-Council, who signed these Articles, says *St. Peter Pett*, were these great Names, viz. *Abbot*, Archbp. of *Canterbury*; *John*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, Keeper of the Great-Seal; *Lionel*, E. of *Middlesex*, Ld. high Treasurer of *England*; *Edwrd. E.* of *Worcester*, Ld. Privy-Seal; *Lewis*, Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenax*, Ld. high Steward of the Household; *Henry*, Visc. *Mandeville*, Ld. President of the Council; *James*, Marquess of *Hamilton*; *James*, Earl of *Carlisle*; *Lancelot*, Bishop. of *Winchester*; *Oliver*, Visc. *Grandison*, *Arthur Chichester*, Baron of *Belfast*, Ld. Treasurer of *Ireland*; *St. Thomas Esmond* Knight, Treasurer of the Household, &c. The Articles afterwards condescended to in the *French Match*, were almost verbatim the same with those formerly agreed to, in the *Spanish Treaty*."

Hap. fut. St. of Engl. f. 209.

blest, which they had formerly excited against him, in *Scotland*; and that he persecuted their Persons in *England*, to the last Hour of his Life. But this King, Sir, had no such Cause of Prepossession in Favour of *Papists*. On the Contrary, their different, imputed Treasons against Queen *Elizabeth* should, equally at least, have prejudiced him against them: And this Gun-powder-treason against himself, which, in Guilt and Horror, exceeded all former Treasons, would, surely, if real, have increased that Prejudice to a proportionable Degree of Hatred, and Persecution of their (g) Persons. What, then,

(g) Yet, on the Contrary, it seems to have increased his Tenderness for them: for in his Speech to Parliament, on the Discovery, he expressly says, among other kind Things, "And therefore we justly confess, that many *Papists*, laying their only Trust upon *Christ* and his Merits, may be saved; *desisting*, in that Point, and thinking that Cruelty of the *Puritans* worthy of Fire, that will allow no Salvation to any *Papist*." Bp. of *Lincoln's* Hist. of the Gun-powder Treason. Upon which *Rapin* observes, "That the People considered with Grief and *Astonishment*, the tender Regard the King expressed for the Catholics in general---they observed also the Difference the King put between the *Romish* Religion, and that of the *Puritans*: the first hindered not its Professors from being looked upon as faithful Subjects, but the last was not to be tolerated in any well-governed Common-wealth, as he expressed himself in his former Speech.

then, but his Consciouſness, or Conviction, that the *Papists* were not, originally, concerned in this Conspiracy, could have induced so vindictive a Prince to treat these People with so much Lenity, and Kindness, through the whole Course of his Government, notwithstanding the frequent and earnest Remonstrances of his Parliament on that Account, which he always suppressed, and sometimes punished?

THAT any Set or Society of Men, not destitute of all Reason and Humanity, should coolly resolve on committing such horrible Treason against their Prince, not only without Provocation, but even after many Favours received, and more, with Reason, expected from him, (which I have shewn was the Case of the *English Catholics*, at the Time that this Plot was discovered) is extremely improbable, if not altogether impossible. But that a King, so offended, after discovering the monstrous Ingratitude and Villainy

“ Speech. In this here, (on Purpose to turn the Hatred of
 “ the good *Protestants* from the *Papists* upon the *Puritans*)
 “ he was not contented with *detesting* an Opinion indifferent
 “ in itself &c. but thought it *worthy of Fire*, &c. whilst he
 “ calls the Doctrine of Transubstantiation a *meer School-*
 “ *Question*.” K. *James*, p. 281.

lains of these Men, should, not only not punish them, by putting them under greater Restraint and Incapacity to do Mischief; but should even grow kinder to them in every Respect, and indulge them with still greater Freedom of Teaching, Professing, and Exercising that Religion, which was supposed to have prompted them to such execrable Resolutions and Designs, is what never, certainly, was before heard of, nor ever will be again.

BUT this is not the only Instance, since the Reformation, of ministerial Craft, and Sedulity in forging *Popish* Plots, for the Ruin, and Defamation of *Papists*. Such State-Projects had been often set on Foot, without Scruple, in the Reign (b) of *Elizabeth*, * “ when Party-Zeal was so
I furious

(b) See *Cambden's Elizabeth*. p. 378. * *Osborne*,

* Doctor *Cartelou*, Bishop of *Chichester*, plainly tells us, “ That it was thought, at that Time (Q. *Eliz.* Reign) that some *Cunning* was practised, to feel Men's “ Affections; and that *counterfeit Letters* were written in the “ Name of the *Scotts Queen*, and of some Fugitives, “ known Traytors to the State; *which Letters might be left “ in the Houses of Recusants*” (such was the Similarity of the Methods of *discovering Plots* in that, and the following Reign!) “ And that Spies were sent abroad to gather Rumours, and “ catch Suspicions. Diverse (adds he) were drawn into these
“ Snares

“ furious, that, to be a Catholic was thought to
 “ signify Nothing less than a sworn Enemy to
 “ God and the Prince,” and the same were, occa-
 sionally repeated, with Improvements, at diffe-
 rent Periods, since the Restoration. Thus (pro-
 bably on a Belief of the Reality of this Powder-
 Plot) the Firing of *London*, in 1666, was univer-
 sally imputed, even by the (i) representative
 Body of the Nation, to these unhappy People;
 and the Memory of that Imputation preserved,
 by the Erection, and Inscription, of the (k) Mo-
 nument

“ *Snarcs*, among the rest, *Henry*, Earl of *Northumberland*;
 “ and his Son, *Philip*, Earl of *Arundel*, was commanded to
 “ keep his House; and his Wife was committed to Sir *Tho-*
 “ *mas Shirly*, to be kept” &c. *Thank Rememb.* p. 68.

(i) “ Resolved that it is the Opinion of this House,
 “ that the City of *London* was burnt in the Year 1666 by the
 “ *Papists*, designing, thereby, to introduce arbitrary Power,
 “ and *Popery* into this Kingdom.” *Sr. P. Pett. Hep. &c.* f. 12.

(k) “ Where *London-Column*, pointing to the Skies,
 “ Like some tall Bully, lifts the Head, and lies.” *Pope*,
 “ The Clause in the Inscription of the Monument,
 “ importing that the City was burnt by *Papists*, was erased
 “ by Order of *K. James*, when he came to the Throne;
 “ but, after the Revolution, it was replaced; so credulous,
 “ as well as obstinate are the People in believing every Thing
 “ which fosters their prevailing Passion.” *Hume's Reign of*
the Stuarts. v. 3d. p. 267.

ument in *London*; (l) " although no Proof, or
 " even Presumption, after the strictest Inquiry,
 " by a Committee of Parliament, ever appeared
 " to authorise such a Calumny ;" and although
 it was publicly (m) known that several Secta-
 rics, *Protestants* by Law, had been before con-
 victed and deservedly executed for a Conspiracy
 to fire that City on the same Month, and Day in
 which it was afterwards fired. These Sectaries,
 Sir, were hanged in *April*, 1666, and openly con-
 fessed that they had been treated with, and had
 treated with others, to burn the City in *September*.

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following

(l) Id. ib.

(m) " In *April* before, *some Common-wealths Men* were
 " found in a Plot, and hanged ; who, at their Execution,
 " confessed they had been spoken to, to assist in a Design of
 " burning *London*, on the 2d. of *Sept.* This was printed in
 " the Gazette of that Week, which I myself read: Now
 " the Fire breaking out on the 2d. (of *Sept.*) made all
 " People conclude there was a Design some Time before on
 " Foot for doing it." *Burnet's Hist. of his own Times.* f. 129.
 See *Sir P. Pett. Happ. fut. St. of Engld.* f. 180. *Burnet* also
 tells us " That *Sir Thomas Littleton*, one of the Committee,
 " that examined all the Presumptions of the City's being
 " burnt by Design, a Man of a strong Head, and sound
 " Judgment; and one of the ablest Parliament-men of his
 " time, often assured him, that there was no clear Presump-
 " tion made out about it, and that many Stories, which
 " were published with good Assurance, came to Nothing, on a
 " strict Examination." ib. f. 130.

following; and accordingly in September following the City was burned. (n) " But, as the *Papists* were " the chief Objects of public Detestation, the Ru- " mour, which threw the Guilt on them, was " favourably received by the people."

THUS also in 1679, by (o, p) the Earl of *Shaftesbury's* detestable Policy, " this Zeal against *Pope-* " *ry*, became so outrageous, that, under " the ridiculous Pretext of a *Popish* " Plot, to take away the King's Life, the most " abandoned Set of Men, perhaps, ever the " Sun saw, were encouraged to be Informers " against Persons, some of whom were at the " Distance of a thousand Miles, when the " Facts, upon which they were tried, were al- " ledged to have been committed: Yet *Papists* " and *Popish* Priests were hanged by Dozens and " Scores, upon those infamous Charges; and " the Blood of one of the most antient Noble- " men

(n) *Hume.*

* *Oates's* Plot.

(o, p) By the Minutes of the Council, it appears, that the E. of *Shaftesbury* paid *Oates* 10l. per Quarter. See *Horrid Conspir.* Published by Authority. *Append.*

“ men in the Kingdom, both as to his Years and
 “ Family, (I mean the Lord *Stafford*) was shed
 “ by the Hands of the common Hangman, for a
 “ Crime, that was as distant from his Thoughts
 “ as it was out of his Power to perpetrate.”
 Such, Sir, were some of the lamentable Effects
 of this forged *Papish* Plot! “ an Incident,” says
 (q) Mr. *Hume*, “ which, for the Credit of the
 “ Nation, it were better to bury in eternal Obli-
 “ vion; but which it is necessary to perpetuate,
 “ as well to maintain the Truth of History, as
 “ to warn, if possible, our Posterity, and all
 “ Mankind, never again to fall into so shameful,
 “ and so barbarous a Delusion.”

THUS, in short, in 1688, upon the Landing
 of the Prince of *Orange* in *England*, a Report was
 iniquitiously propagated through every Part of
 that Kingdom, in one Day, (r) “ That the dis-

I 3

“ banded

(q) Reign of the *Stuarts*.

(r) Id. ib. The unparalleled Impudence of *Hugh Speke*, Esq.
 one of the principal Instruments in spreading this Alarm,
 must not be passed over unnoticed. This Man, after the
 Revolution, not only confessed the Fact in Print, but also
 boasted of it, as a singular Piece of Service at that Juncture,
 for which he demanded, and obtained, a Reward in the en-
 suing Reign. “ Hoping, says this Incendiary, by Means of
 that Report, to make the *Irish Papists* under *K. James* useless
 to

" banded *Irish* Soldiers had taken Arms, and
 " had commenced an universal Massacre of all
 " the *Protestants*; the ridiculous Belief of which,
 " begot, every where, the deepest Consternation.
 " ———the Alarm-Bells were rung, the Beacon
 " fired; Men fancied that they saw, at a Di-
 " stance, the Smoak of the burning Cities, and
 " heard the Groans of those who were slaughte-
 " red in their Neighbourhood. It was surpris-
 " sing" (adds my (s) Author) "that the Catholics
 " did not all perish, in the Rage, which naturally
 " succeeds to such popular Panics."

ABOUT the same Time, and for the same
 flagitious Purpose (1) " a Report of an intended
 " Massacre of the *Protestants* of *Ireland*, by the
 " *Papists*, was generally spread there, and wrought
 " prodigious Effects on a People fitted for such
 " an Impression. When the News arrived in
 " *Dublin*, (says an Eye-witness) it so alarmed
 the

to him, and odious to the *Protestants*, I set Fire to the Train, and
 it spread like wildfire, in a Moment, thro' the whole Kingdom, to
 the great Amusement, and Astonishment of all Persons." *Memo. of*
Remark. Dissag. p. 28.

(1) *Hume's* Reign of the *Stuarts*.

(1) *Dr. Lefley's* Answ. to *King's* State of the *Protestants* of
Ireland, under *K. James*.

“ the City, that above five thousand *Protestants*
 “ appeared in Arms that Night; and many
 “ hundred Families embarked from all Parts, in
 “ such Confusion, that they left every Thing,
 “ but their Lives, behind them.”

AND here, Sir, I might add many similar Reports wickedly set on Foot in these Kingdoms in the latter troublesome Periods of 1715, 1743, and 1745; but I omit them all, for one signal Instance, which has just * now happened; wherein a riotous, but feeble Attempt of some starving (u) Cottagers in the Province of *Munster*, to re-
 “ cover

(u) “ Some Landlords in *Munster* have set their Lands
 “ to Cottiers far above their Value; and, to lighten the
 “ Burthen, allowed Commonage to their Tenants, as a
 “ Kind of Recompence. Afterwards, in despite of all
 “ Equity; contrary to all Compacts; the Landlords have
 “ inclosed these Commons, and precluded the unhappy
 “ Tenants from the only Means of making their Bargain
 “ tolerable.—The greatest Part of these Tenures are by
 “ verbal Agreement, not by written Compact: Here is ano-
 “ ther Difficulty, if the Wretches should apply to Law.” *An*
Enquiry into the Causes of the Outrages committed by the
Levellers, Wilson's Magazine for April, 1763. “ In the
 “ second Year of K. James 1st, a Commotion was stirred up
 “ by some Commoners against ingressing their Ground; when
 “ the King chanced to be invited in his Hunting-Journey to
 “ dine with Sir Thomas J— of *Barkshire*; and turning
 “ short

cover their Right of Commonage, newly taken from them; has been represented as a *Popish Insurrection*, and as a Prelude to an intended Massacre of all the *Protestants*. And this atrocious Calumny, has been countenanced and persisted in, even after Persons of known Loyalty, and Eminence in the Law, (commissioned by the Government to enquire, on the Spot, into the Causes of these Disturbances,) have openly confessed, that they had not, after the strictest Enquiry, found one of all that wretched Multitude guilty of any Thing like Rebellion, or Disaffection. Nay, Sir, on that very Day, on which it was declared by Authority, (w) " that, by the Vigilance and " Activity of the Earl of *Halifax*, there was an intire Stop put to these Riots, and Disturbances; " that

" short at the Corner of a Common, happened near to a " Country-Man sitting by the Heels in Stocks, who cried " *Hosanna*! to his Majesty; which invited the King to ask the " Reason of his Restraint: Sir *Thomas* said, it was for " stealing a Goose from the Common: The Fellow replied, " I beseech your Majesty to judge, *who is the greatest Thief,* " *I, for stealing Geese from the Common, or his Worship, for* " *stealing the Common from the Geese?* By my Sale, Sir, " said the King to Sir *Thomas*, *Is not dine to Day on your* " *Disbes,* 'till you restore the Common for the Poor, to feed their " *Flock?* Which was forthwith granted to them, and the " witty Fellow set free; and Care taken to quiet the Com- " motions." *Saunderson's K. James. p. 312.*

(w) *Lond. Gazette, May 4th 1761. Whitehall.*

“ that the Authors of them consisted, indiffer-
 “ minately, of Persons of different Persuasions;
 “ and that no Marks of Dissaffection to his Ma-
 “ jesty's Person or Government were discovered
 “ upon this Occasion, in any Class of People:”

On that very Day, Sir, new Alarms were indus-
 triously raised by Letters sent from hence, and
 printed in all the (*) *English* News-papers,
 wherein it was impudently asserted, “ that these
 “ Insurgents were all *Papists*; that they purposed,
 “ and were ready, to join our *French*, and *Spa-*
 “ *nish* Enemies, on their expected Invasion; and
 “ that the preceding *Good-Friday* had been the
 “ Time appointed by them for a general Massa-
 “ cre of all the *Protestants*.” Which senseless,

and cruel Slander was, from the Beginning, cal-
 culated to defeat (as it actually did defeat) the
 wise, and humane Intention of the Legislature,
 at that Juncture, to show some Lenity to our
 harmless, and long-suffering, Roman-Catholic,
 Fellow-Subjects; and, thereby, to render them
 more useful to their King, and Country, than the
 Severity of the Laws in Force against them has,
 hitherto, permitted them to be.

(y) BUT “ Woe!” (say I, with an able
 and spirited Writer on this Occasion) “ to those

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who

(x) *Gen. Lond. Evening-post*, May 4th 1761.

(y) *Lond. Chron.* May 8th. 1762.

" who give most Scandal; to those, who are,
 at Heart, * Traitors to their King and Coun-
 " try; to those who are Rebels to Peace,
 " Charity, and Truth; and to those, who are
 " Murderers of People's Fame, Reputation,
 " and Characters! Of that Woe beware ye
 " who have branded a loyal, and faithful Peo-
 " ple with some of these infamous Appellations:
 " For, although, by the Vigilance of our ex-
 " cellent Chief Governor, and the Activity of
 " those noble Gentlemen employed by him in
 " the Chase, the chief Game is almost run
 " down: Yet another Hare is endeavoured to
 " be started; with an Intent to clog the Wheels
 " of

* This seems to have been prophetic; for the very next
 Year, near 40,000 of the rich Protestant Inhabitants of
 Ulster, who clamoured most bitterly against the poor Mun-
 ster Levellers before-mentioned, rose up in Arms, attacked
 his Majesty's Army, sent out against them " with an a-
 " vowed and traitorous Intent" (as the Proclamation against
 them set forth) " to obstruct, and prevent the Execution
 " of the Laws, and to intimidate his Majesty's Subjects from
 " Recovering their legal Rights." And these Insurgents,
 " the more effectually to answer their said traitorous Pur-
 " poses, have, by Threats and Violence, compelled several
 " of the Magistrate, and others of his Majesty's Subjects,
 " to take unlawful Oaths, that they would aid, and assist
 " them in such their traitorous Designs, to the great Terror of
 " his Majesty's Subjects, the Breach of his Majesty's Peace,
 " and the Obstruction of Justice." &c. Part of the Design
 of these Insurgents was to with-hold the legal Tithes from
 the Established Clergy, which they, in some Measure, have
 Effected.

"of Government, or to make it lay aside the
 "intention of Employing so useful a Number
 "of Hands, in Defense of one of the most
 "beneficial Allies of the Crown. For, is it
 "not for some such Purpose, that all the Dirt
 "is thrown, which infernal Malice can invent,
 "that some of it may stick to those destined
 "Victims, the *Papists*? By which false, artful,
 "and calumnious Methods, the Ancestors of
 "those were forced into Rebellion; and by
 "their being so removed from any Connexion
 "with the established Government, Room was
 "left for the *fanatic Wolves*, of those angry,
 "Times, like the Wolves in the Fable, to de-
 "vour the Sheep, and the Dogs, separately.

BUT, to return from this long, though ne-
 cessary, Digression, to what has insensibly led
 me into it. — When we consider, Sir, that
 had this Powder-conspiracy succeeded, it would
 have proved fatal to *Papists*, as well as to *Pro-*
testants, (the (2) Number of the former in the
 House of Peers being then nearly equal to that
 of the latter,) that Lord Mounteagle, a *Papist*,
 first discovered it to the Council; that Lord (a)

K. 2 *Northumberland*;
 (2) "Many *known Papists* then sitting in the House of
 "Lords, besides many *private*, that were mingled among
 "the Commons. *Obs. p. 435.*

(a) *Saunderson, Howe, Baker, &c.* * K. of Portugal.

Northumberland, a *Protestant*, was suspected to be engaged in it; that the (b) former was not rewarded for the *real* Discovery; that the latter was (c) punished on the *pretended* Suspicion; that (d) no *Papists* of Note were known to be confederated with the chief Conspirators; that the Number of those, who, after the Discovery, joined in the Flight, and Tumult of these Conspirators, (e) "exceeded not four-score," and

they were forced into Rebellion; and by their being removed from any further assistance.

(b) "I never found, says *Osborne*, any signal Favour, or "Respect given from the Court to Lord *Mordaunt* (*Mountague*)" Works p. 437.

(c) In thirty thousand Pounds Fine, and Imprisonment of many Years. *Saunderson, Baker, Howe, &c.*

(d) Lord *Castlemain's* Cath. Apol. p. 490.

(e) *Saunderson, Howe Baker, &c.* "Who, (says *Saunderson*, R. James p. 372) "were watched hourly, for fear of quitting their Masters." And not without Reason, as *Speed* informs us, (R. James p. 920,) that "they were ever ready "to steal away from the Conspirators, and that more Care "was in keeping them, than Trust reposed either in their "Faith, or Defence."

The Bishop of *Lincoln*, in his History of this Plot, p. 67, assures us, "that such was the zealous Duty, imprinted on the Minds of the poorest Sort of the People, although then knowing of no further Mystery (the Design on the Parliament-house) than such public Misbehaviour as their own Eyes taught them: that, notwithstanding their (the Conspirators) fair Shew, and Pretence of their Catholic Cause, no Creature, Man, or Woman, through all the Country, would once so much

“ they, for the most Part, made up of Serving-men, Horse-boys, and House-attendants; ” that afterwards, to give it some Colour of a *Popish* Conspiracy, the strictest Search was ordered to be made among *Papists* of Quality, and Fortune, for a Pretext to fix it on them; which not being found, it was, nevertheless, thought necessary, that two eminent *Roman-Catholics*, viz. Lord *Stourton*, and Lord *Mordaunt*, should be (f) imprisoned, and grievously fined; and that for no other Crime, but because they happened to be in the Country on the Day appointed for the Meeting of Parliament: When, I say, we have added these Considerations to what has been already mentioned; we shall clearly perceive, that this Powder-treason was not so much a Conspiracy of *Papists* to overturn a *Protestant* Government, as it was a Contrivance of a *Protestant* Government, (very different indeed from that which kind Providence hath placed over these People at present) to ruin, and extirpate *Papists*: For which evil Purpose it hath been, often since, occasionally

much as give them willingly a Cup of Drink, or any Sort of Comfort, or Support, but with Execrations detested them.” This is also testified, in the same Words, by the Bishop of *Chichester*, *Thank. Rem. p.*

(f) *Saund. K. James. &c.*

made Use of: And of this, Sir, the following Passages, among many others in your Sermon, may be produced as no improbable Instances:

AFTER telling us, very truly, "that were
" it only a few desperate Men, that, upon per-
" sonal Provocations, engaged in so villainous a
" Design, we should have, nevertheless, Reason
" to thank God for the great and signal Delive-
" rance," you have added, "but since, from
" the most impartial Accounts, it appears, that
" they, who undertook it, *pretended* Nothing
" else but Religion and Conscience, we have
" not only Reason to abhor the Undertaking,
" but also to condemn the *Principles*, which
" urged them to it." By which Words, you
have plainly intimated, that the *Principles*, as
you call them, which urged a few desperate
Men to this villainous Design, were not private,
and peculiar to themselves; but general Articles
of Belief, imposed upon them by the Religion
they professed: Whereas it is notorious, that
these Conspirators, at their Execution, did all pub-
licly (g) declare their Sorrow, and Repentance
for

(g) *Hume, &c. &c. Sr. Edward Digby*, one of the Chief of these Conspirators, in a private Letter from the Tower, published as authentic, by the Bp. of London, says "Now let me tell you, *what a Grief it hath been to me, to hear*

for having entered into that * Design, and most fervently implore God's Mercy and Forgiveness for it. Even the Jesuit *Garnet*, who was made acquainted with it in Confession only, exhorted the Catholics, with his last Breath, (b) "never to attempt Rebellion, Treason, or violent Practices, either against the King, or the State; for that all such Courses were utterly "against the Catholic Religion." (i) And Dr

How says, "but even *Garnet* was the Cause of the Plot."

"that so much condemned (the Conspiracy) which I did believe would have been otherwise thought of by Catholics." *Hist. of the Gun-powd. plot.* p. 242.

(b) *How*, K. James p. 882. Bp. of *Linc.* *Hist.* p. 228. *Garnet* at his Trial, called God to Witness, that when *Catesby*, in Confession, told him of this Conspiracy, he dissuaded him from it, and made him promise to desist. Testimon also, another Jesuit, who was accused of it, constantly affirmed, that he knew it no other Way but in Confession; and that he as much dissuaded *Catesby* from it, as if the Pope himself had been in Danger." See *More's Hist. of the Society.* *Ld. Castlemain's Cath. Apol.*

(i) Lib. 135. An. 1605.

* In the Letter just now quoted from the Bishop of *Lincoln's* History of this Plot, *Digby* says, "When I came into Prison, Death would have been a welcome Friend unto me, and was most desired. But when I heard, how Catholics and Priests thought of the Matter; and that it should be a great Sin that should be the Cause of my End, it called my Conscience in Doubt, and my very best Actions and Intentions in Question — And only this caused me to wish

" for

Thou himself confesses, that "he protested, at
 " the same Time, that he abhorred that Trea-
 " son from the very Bottom of his Soul; and
 " that the Thoughts of his own Death did not
 " grieve him so much, as the seeing of *Roman-*
 " Catholics concerned in it." Which, surely, he
 needed not, or he would not, have protested, had
 his Religion taught him, or had he himself be-
 lieved, that such a Conspiracy was not only not
 criminal, but even meritorious; as you would
 insinuate was the Case.

BUT, granting, Sir, that these few desperate
Papists had been so devoid of all sense of Evil,
 as not to repent of, but, on the Contrary, to
 glory in this villainous Design, (as the *puritan*
Regicides publicly did in *theirs*, at the Hour of
 their (k) Deaths) how disingenous would it be,
 even

" for Life, 'till I could meet with a *Ghostly Friend*" (Confes-
 for) ib.

(k) See *the Tryals of the Regicides*, and the Prayers,
 and dying Speeches thereto annexed, Viz. in those of
 Major General *Harrison*, Mr. *Justice Cook*, Mr. *Carew*, *Hugh*
Peters, Mr. *Scot*, Col. *Adrian Scroop*, Col. *John Jones*, Col.
Axtel, Col. *Francis Hacker*, &c. &c. who publicly avowed
 their bloody, and horrible Treason, at the Time and Place
 of their Execution, as just, laudable, and even meritorious,
 in the highest Degree; and impiously gloried in their Suffer-
 ings for it, as so many Instances of Martyrdom endured for
Christ's Sake.

even in that Case, to charge such abandoned Profligacy, and Hardness of Heart, on the Principles of a Religion, which you, Sir, know, or ought to know, most sincerely condemns, and abhors it!

GREATER Sorrow, Amazement, and Detestation, were never discovered on any Occasion, than what the *Roman-Catholics*, of that Time, universally expressed upon this (1) “ The ancient, and professed Enemy of our Religion
 “ (*said they*) never made any Attempt against
 “ it, more odious in its own Nature, to us more
 “ lamentable, or to himself, for the Time,
 “ more *successful*, than this hath been ; which,
 “ as we want apt Words to express our true
 “ Conceit thereof, we are forced to unfold, and
 “ close up, in the silent Deeps of Amazement,
 “ and Horror ! Hence the Surcharge, rather than
 “ the Increase, of our long-continued Sufferings,
 “ accompanied with such further Addition of
 “ ensuing Scandal, as, alienating People’s
 “ Minds from all former Indifferency, hath
 “ strangely induced them to prejudice our
 “ whole Cause, and to blaspheme the Things, of
 “ which (*God knoweth*) they be ignorant.”

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You

(1) *Brierly's Protestant Apology*, Pref.

Y o u cannot, Sir, but be sensible, that the
 Dissenting *Protestants* of these Kingdoms in 1641,
 (who called themselves the only *true Protestants*)
 “ were (m) the Occasion, even by the Fallity
 “ of their Principles, that as many * hundred
 “ Thousands were slain, during the Rebellion
 “ then raised by them, as there were bare Hun-
 “ dreds cut off in the inglorious Reign of Queen
 “ *Mary.*” --- But as you must likewise be sensi-
 ble, that it would be very bad Logic, and worse
 Christianity, to infer from thence, that the Dis-
 senting *Protestants*, now living peaceably and
 dutifully among us, are infected with the like
 false, and destructive Principles; it is to me un-
 accountable, how you could have argued thus er-
 roneously, with respect to the *Roman-Catholics*,
 living also peaceably and dutifully among us, by
 drawing

(m) *Sir Peter Pett. Hap. fut. State of England. f. 176.*
 “ In the two Kingdoms (Great Britain and Ireland) there
 “ hath been more Christian blood shed in Rebellions since
 “ the Reformation, by pretended Undertakers of defensive
 “ War, than throughout the whole *Roman Empire*, in nine
 “ of the first ten Persecutions.” *Dr. Hicks, in Lobb's Answer*
to King. p. 57.

* “ *Mr. Carew Reynell, in his Book, called the true Eng-
 “ lish Interest, accounts that in the late civil Wars raised
 “ for the Defence and Propagation of the true reformed
 “ Religion, three hundred thousand Men were slain in England
 “ alone.*” *Sir Peter Pett's Hap. Fut. State. &c. f. 138.*

drawing Conclusions to their Prejudice, from *Actions* to *Principles*, and from *Particulars* to *Generals*.

AND yet, Sir, that you have done so, is manifest in several other Parts of your Sermon, beside those I have quoted; but in none so much, as where, in Contradiction to the recent Testimonies of our excellent (n) Chief Governor, and of the (o) spiritual Head of our national Church, (both acknowledging, on different Occasions, the peaceable Demeanour of these People) and in Opposition to the Evidence of our Senses, in that Respect, for more than seventy Years past; you have endeavoured to infuse the most unjust, and alarming Notions of them into the Minds of our Legislators, by telling them from the Pulpit, which ought to be the Chair of Truth, “ that we do not yet see
“ that their repeated Disappointments have at
“ all discouraged them from laying new Designs
“ of Enslaving, or *Destroying* us;” and by your groundless, and uncharitable Surmize “ that while
“ their Prejudices remain (i. e. while they remain
“ *Roman-Catholics*) they will be always ready to
L 2 “ receive

(n) E. of Halifax.

(o) Lord Primate Stone.

“ receive those Weapons of Offence, which their
 “ foreign Adherents will take every Opportunity
 “ of throwing into their Hands.” And what
 Use you think they would make of them, in
 such a Case, is but too apparent from your
 sneering, but barbarous, Suggestion, “ that they
 “ profess a Religion, which, *though it encoura-*
 “ *ges them to spill (p) Blood copiously; yet abounds*
 “ *with sanctified Water to wash its deepest Stains*
 “ *away.*”

WHETHER, Sir, you are in Jest, or in Earnest, in these brilliant Sallies of your Wit, and Zeal against *Popery*; you must give me Leave to tell you, that they are, indeed, accompanied with so much Derision, and Acrimony, as render them altogether unsuitable to that
 Spirit

(p) “ One hundred and thirty Priests (says Lord Castlemain) and fifty Lay-men, were executed for *their Religion*, in the latter Part only of Queen Elizabeth’s Reign,
 “ And, if, together with those of the Roman-Catholic Religion (adds the same Writer) we reckon all Sorts of
 “ People, *even Enemies to Popery*, who died for *their Con-*
 “ *sciences*, under Henry VIIIth. Edward VIth. Queen Elizabeth, &c. mentioned by Fox, Stow, Hollingshead, and other Protestant Historians, there will be found even double
 “ the Quantity of Blood spilt, upon a religious Account, by
 “ those Princes who have disowned the Pope, than
 “ by Papists, from St. Austin’s Conversion of that Island to this
 “ very Day. Cath. Apol. p. 200.

Spirit of Christianity, which, in *your* Definition of it, so eminently distinguishes the *Protestant* Religion from every other. For, how can such Expressions consist with “ that Charity, Meekness, and universal Love, (the Love of our very Enemies,) which are more strongly recommended through the whole Gospel, than any other Duties whatever ? ”——But if, Sir, after all, you should not be able, to prove the Truth of these Imputations, as I am very confident you will not, then will these People say, and with good Reason, that you, and all such Preachers as you, do, by such merciless Misrepresentation of their Principles, and Dispositions, seem to make a *Merit* of murdering their Characters; a Crime, they will tell you, not less heinous than that of murdering their Persons; as they are sadly sensible, that all that Obloquy, Severity, and Restraint, under which they have so long laboured, are chiefly owing to such Misrepresentation.

I SHALL not take the Trouble to refute (what you have so frequently alluded to) that obsolete common-place Charge against *Roman-Catholics*, of maintaining, as an Article of their Faith, the *Deposing*, and *King-killing Doctrine*; because it hath

have been already more than sufficiently (9) refuted by several of their own Writers; and be-
cause

(9) See *Calaneo's* Catho. Apology. *Præf. Hulse's* Lett. to the B. of *Lincoln*, &c. The pretended Proofs of this Calumny, which have been studiously dispersed, and nauseously repeated, in an infinite Number of Books and Pamphlets on the Subject, are all drawn from the following Topics: viz. 1st. From the Practice of Popes, in excommunicating, or deposing Princes, on account of Heresy. 2dly. From the Canon of the *Lateran* Council, laying a Sort of Injunction on secular Powers (*Potestates Seculares*), to exterminate Heretics. And 3dly, from the Opinions of some popish Divines, in Favour of the Pope's deposing Power. — To the first, they answer, that the Practice of Popes, whether good or bad, can never constitute an Article of their Faith; for that it is notorious, that they are not bound to believe their Popes infallible, much less, *impeccable*. To the Second, That the Canon of the *Lateran* Council regards petty, sedentary Princes alone; and is, at most, Matter of *Discipline* only, which even these Princes may, or may not comply with, as they see fitting, without any Breach of Communion in the Article of Religion: of which they produce many known and public Instances, both past and present. And to the 3d. They say, that, for one of their Divines, that allows the Pope's deposing Power, there are at least 1000, and of much better Note too, that disclaim, and condemn it: That the most famous of the Popish Universities have publicly stigmatized the *deposing Doctrine*, as false, scandalous, schismatical, damnable, &c. without incurring any Censure, either from the Pope, or their Church. And lastly, that such Difference in Opinion is so far from being peculiar to their Divines, that "about the Year 1645, it was found, that no less than an hundred, and sixty Heresies, and many of them damnable, had been broached, or entertained among the English Protestants themselves, in the Space of three or four Years only." See Sir *Peter Pett*. *Hap. fut.* &c. f. 241.

cause whatever Instances, in Support of it, may, perhaps, be picked up from some of their Practices; no Religion, Sir, is justly chargeable with those Acts, or Opinions of its particular Professors, however eminent, which it does not dogmatically avow, and approve of: For, otherwise, every Church on Earth, by the Delinquency of some of its Members, would forfeit the Character, not only of delivering Divine Truths, which all Churches pretend to; but also that of teaching any of the common moral Duties: And the reformed Churches, in particular, would be more liable to such a Forfeiture, and especially to the Imputation of rebellious, and sanguinary Tenets, than *Papery* itself; as it can be easily made appear, that more Blood has been shed, and more Princes deposed, or attempted to be deposed, by *Protestants*, in the first sixty Years after the Reformation, than there have been by *Papists*, or *Popes*, during six hundred Years before it.

BUT I will mention one Matter of Fact, relative to this Plot, which seems to me to be a better Refutation of this Calumny, and a stronger Proof of the real, and conscientious Loyalty of *Roman Catholics* to a *Protestant* Prince, than any other I have yet met with.

IMMEDIATELY

IMMEDIATELY after the Discovery of the Gun-powder-treason, a new (r) Oath of Allegiance was artfully framed, and strictly imposed, upon these People ; which, as it contained some Clauses, that seemed to clash with the Religion of their Consciences, was frequently refused by them ; at the same Time that they chearfully offered to take that, or any other Oath of Allegiance, if stripped of these Clauses. For this Refusal, several of them suffered grievously in their Characters, Persons, and Estates, from the Time of the first framing of it, to the breaking-out of the Grand Rebellion in 1641 ; at which memorable Period, while so many Thousands of *Protestants*, (s) who had repeatedly

(r) " This Oath was drawn up in such ambiguous Terms, that a tender Conscience, (the best disposed towards paying civil Allegiance) could not digest it. The Wording of the Oath was chiefly committed to Archbp. *Bancroft*, who, with the Assistance of Sir *Christopher Perkins*, a Renegado-Jesuit, so calculated the whole to the Designs of the Ministry, that it met with the desired Effect ; which was, first, to divide the Catholics about the Lawfulness of the Oath ; secondly, to expose them to daily Persecutions in Case of Refusal ; and, in Consequence of this, to misrepresent them as disaffected Persons, and of unsound Principles, in regard of civil Government." *Dodd's Eccl. Hist. V. 2d. f. 336.*

(s) *Ld. Castlemain's Cath. Apol. Sir Peter Pett's Oblig. of Oaths.*

edly taken that Oath of Allegiance, entered, voluntarily, into the Rebellion; all those *Roman-Catholic* Noblemen, and Gentlemen, who had scrupulously refused it, firmly, and constantly, adhered to his Majesty: (1) "Nor did ever any Subjects surpass them in Zeal, and Fidelity to their Prince: For, from *their rescuing the Royal Standard at Edge-hill-Fight*, which was the first Battle, to *their saving of his Majesty (Charles II.) after that of Worcester*, which was the last; and so to the Restoration; there was not the least Service omitted by them, that fell within their Sphere, or their Power."

Of the above-mentioned *Popish - Recusants*, (2) two hundred and fourteen Noblemen and Gentlemen were slain in different Battles, and Sieges, fighting for their King, ("though the Catholics were not then," says

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Lord

(1) *Ld. Castlemain's Catholic Apology.*

(2) See Appendix (iv) Cath. Apol. "There were killed (in the King's Service) during the whole civil War, but two hundred and twelve *Protestant* Lords, Knights Commanders and Gentlemen, as appears by a List called, *the Loyal Martyrs*." id. ib. The same noble Author assures us, "That there were *three Times* more Estates of *Papists* sold (by *Cromwell's* Confiscations) than of any other People." ib.

Lord *Castlemain*, "the hundreth Part of
 "the Nation," and near an hundred more, of
 "the same Rank, and Quality, lost their Liber-
 "ties and Estates, by engaging in the same Cause;
 "among which latter, the Marquels of *Worcester*
 "alone was a Loser of at least three hundred
 "thousand Pounds by the War.

From all which, Sir, I shall only draw this
 plain Inference, that, as the same strict, and re-
 ligious Attachment to Duty, and Conscience,
 which hindered these *Recusants* from taking
 that Oath of Allegiance, was what alone prompt-
 ed them to perform, so nobly, all the loyal Pur-
 poses of it: So, the Soundness, and Integrity of
 their Principles seem more worthy to be relied
 on by a Protestant Prince, even (w) without
 such an Obligation, than that of some of their
 Protestant Enemies appears to be with us.

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(w) On this Occasion, Sir *Peter Pett* justly observes, that
 "There is something besides, or beyond, Oaths, necessary to
 "sustain Heaven to preserve States, and Kingdoms, and
 "Ecclesiastical Polities, namely, trusting in God; without
 "which, the endeavoured Piling of Oath upon Oath, as
 "high as the Heavens, will prove as insignificant, as did the
 "old Polities, when the Vogue was, *let us build us a City,*
 "and a Tower, whose Top may reach to Heaven; and let us
 "make a Name, lest we should be scattered abroad on the Face
 "of the Earth. But Heaven confounded their Language,
 "and their City was called *Babel*, and their feared Dissipa-
 "tion was their Punishment." Obl. of Oaths, f. 113.

FAR more sensibly, and humanely, Sir, has the Reverend Doctor *Henry* dealt with *Roman-Catholics*, in his Sermon on the *Irish* Rebellion, preached before the same Honourable House of Commons, on the 22d of *October*, 1761; wherein, although he has taken his Account of that Rebellion from the most partial, and malicious of all their Enemies, Sir *John Temple*, who has exhibited it in a most false, odious, and shocking Light: Yet he candidly confines the Guilt, and Infamy of it to the Rebels themselves, instead of charging, (as you have done, with Respect to the Powder-plot,) their innocent Descendants, and all those of the same Religion, with the like traiterous Inclinations, and Designs. "God forbid," says that Gentleman, "that we should so far divest ourselves of Justice, and the Spirit of Christianity, as to lay these Things at the Door of their Posterity. By the Law of God, the Children are not to bear the Iniquity of their Fathers; and it would be most unjust to impute these Crimes to the present *Roman-Catholics of Ireland*, whose Industry, peaceable Behaviour, Loyalty, and professed Attachment to our Constitution, intitle them to Protection, Indulgence, and Favour."

So candid a Declaration in Favour of these injured People, made on so memorable an Oc-

cation, and before so august an Assembly, will,
 no Doubt, be always most gratefully remember-
 ed by them. I myself, though but little con-
 cerned in religionary Contests, am singularly
 pleased with such upright Impartiality : And I
 will venture to say, that this Reverend Gentle-
 man would have given us a far different Account
 of that Rebellion, from what we now see in his
 Sermon, had he but had the good Fortune, be-
 fore he composed it, to have perused the *Histori-
 cal Memoirs* on that Subject, published in *Lon-
 don*, in 1758 : For there he would have learned,
 from unquestionable Authority, that this Rebel-
 lion was neither as general, nor unprovoked, as
 it is commonly thought to have been.—that (x)
 “ before it commenced, the *Irisb* were cruelly
 “ persecuted—and that, after it was suppressed,
 “ they were as basely misrepresented.—That the
 “ Lords Justices, *Parsons* and *Borlase*, who had
 “ previous Intimations of it, far from taking
 “ any Methods for stifling it in the Birth, conni-
 “ ved at the Preparations of the Rebels, and fo-
 “ mented the Troubles, on Purpose, to gratify
 “ their avaricious Views of sharing forfeited Es-
 “ tates—That the Proceedings of these Lords
 “ Justices were such, with Regard to these Peo-
 ple,

(x) See *Monthly Critical Review* for February 1761.

" ple, as might have driven the best Subjects in
 " the World into Rebellion.—That not the hun-
 " dred and fiftieth Part of the Cruelties, and
 " Massacres imputed to the *Irish* Rebels, was
 " really committed by them.—That Numbers
 " of *Protestants* were protected by *Roman-Catho-*
 " lic Gentlemen, and even by Popish Priests,
 " from the Fury of the Rabble ; and that their
 " Prelates, in their general Congregation at
 " *Kilkenny*, did, in their Acts, denounce Ex-
 " communication against all those of their own
 " People, who should murder, maim, or grie-
 " vously strike any *Protestant* --- That the first
 " Massacre of this War was acted by the *Eng-*
 " *lish* and *Scotish* Puritans at *Carrickfergus*, who
 " slaughtered above three thousand defenceless
 " Men, Women and Children, in the Island,
 " of *Magee* ; for no other Reason, than because
 " they professed the *Roman-Catholic* Religi-
 " on,—And lastly, that the repeated Intreaties
 " of the *Irish* Catholics, that a parliamentary
 " Enquiry should be set on Foot, in Order to
 " ascertain the Massacres and Murders, which
 " had been committed on both Sides, and the
 " constant Refusal they underwent in this Res-
 " pect ; form a strong Presumption, that they
 " were conscious of their own Innocence, and
 " their Adversaries well convinced that they
 " themselves would derive no Honour from
 " such an Investigation."

AND

And because, Sir, I have all along supposed you to have a Mind open to Conviction, which yet by Misinformation may have imbibed as wrong Notions of this Rebellion, as we see it has of the Gun-powder-treason; I shall take the Liberty to recommend these *Historical Memoirs* to your serious, and dispassionate Perusal; and, through your Means, to the Perusal of all such candid Persons, as intend hereafter to preach, write, or discourse, on the Subject of them: For I will venture to assure both you, and them, in the Words of the above-cited impartial Judge, that "those who are desirous of surmounting illiberal Prejudices; of having their Eyes purged from the Film of historical Falsehood, and of seeing their Fellow-Subjects vindicated from the Imputation of a Crime, which is, indeed, a Reproach upon humane Nature, will find uncommon Satisfaction in perusing these Memoirs."

Before I conclude, I will just mention an Observation or two, which have often occurred to me on this Occasion, and which, perhaps, you yourself will think not altogether unworthy of Regard. All the political Purposes of Misrepresentation, with Respect to the *Papists* of *Ireland*, have been already so fully answered,

that it is difficult to guess what further Use can be made of it. Religion, Reason, and Honour, forbid it at all Times; and its Authors, when detected, have seldom escaped that Infamy, which is undoubtedly due to such transcendent Baseless. This Vice, however, was not to be restrained by Infamy itself, as long as there were *Epates* to be got by the Practice of it. But that Temptation to religious Obloquy, can hardly now be said to exist among us. The Gratification, therefore, of this Sort of Avarice cannot be its present Motive. What then shall we think? Has Avarice of another Kind, the Avarice of *Preferment*, or the Ambition of making Converts to the established Worship, succeeded in its stead? The former, I fear, has been too much the Case. But God forbid! Sir, that any real Sons of the established Church should make Use of the unchristian Means of Slander, to gain Profelytes to it; should propagate Falshood, for the Sake of Truth; and, after failing to evince (what has been so often, and confidently asserted) that *Papists* make a Merit of destroying *Protestants*, should, by their own Practice, furnish such convincing Proofs, that *Protestants* make no Scruple, at least, of calumniating *Papists*.

BUT Misrepresentation, Sir, and Calumny, are not the only unjustifiable Means of making orthodox

thodox Christians, and loyal Subjects, of *Papists*. To deal ingenuously with you; I think the Means of Coercion, by penal Laws, not less opposite to the Spirit of true Religion, and good Government: For, are not Converts, so made, for the most Part rank Hypocrites, before they become *Protestants*, and indeed ever after too, in the general Opinion? And can Hypocrisy, aggravated with the Guilt of Perjury, as it is in this Case, be a proper Introduction to true Religion? The well-known mercenary, or immoral Inducements to these Conversions afford the clearest Proof in the World of their Insincerity, and leave no Room to doubt, that such Converts are *Protestants only in NAME*; with a View, too often, of becoming in *Reality* (what all good and sincere *Protestants* condemn and detest) undutiful Children, unnatural Brethren, or perfidious Friends. And I leave you, Sir, to judge whether Motives so repugnant to all the social, natural, and religious Duties, are fit to be confided in, or longer encouraged.

If you tell me, that the Children of these Converts will, nevertheless, in Time, become sincere *Protestants*, and faithful Subjects: I ask you again, whether, supposing that Consequence certain, (which is very far from being the Case; as

as such Children are, for the most Part, trained up either in utter Ignorance, or bare-faced Contempt, of all Religion) whether, I say, even in that Supposition, "*the Doing of Evil, that Good may arise therefrom,*" ought still to be encouraged in *this one Instance*, when both Reason, and Religion prohibit, and condemn it in *every other*.

It is frivolous to pretend, and yet it is pretended, that these Laws are made penal to *Roman-Catholics*, not on Account of their Religion, but Disaffection. No People, Sir, under Heaven, could behave more dutifully, than they have always done, for more than seventy Years past; and that, surely, is a sufficient Time of Probation for any People. Yet how often, and woefully have they experienced, within that Period of Time, that they are liable to all the Penalties of these Laws, on the *sole* Conviction of their professing or exercising, any Part of their Religion?—I therefore Sir, repeat it, that the making Converts by such compulsory Means, is diametrically opposite to the Spirit of true Religion, to the Genius of the Reformation, (which owes its very Being to a quite contrary Principle) and to that *Evangelical Liberty* which we glory in having recovered, by our Separation from the Church of *Rome*. And shall we, Sir, think ourselves authorized to exercise a spiritual Tyranny over the

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Consciences

Consciences of *Papists*, which we have always condemned in the *Papists* themselves; and which we, at this Day, alledge as one of our principal Reasons for having quitted their Communion?

Nor is the Purpose of good Government, any more than that of true Religion, to be served, or answered, by this bigotted, profelyting-Zeal. In order to demonstrate the Truth of this Assertion, I will briefly examine the following Question, viz. Whether, if *Ireland* were intirely a *Protestant* Country, it would, by that Means, become either more peaceable in itself, or more dutiful to its Sovereign, than it is found to be in its present mixed State.

You will allow me, Sir, that *Scotland* is a *Protestant* Country, in the strictest Sense of the Word *Protestant*; that is to say, it is a Country whose People are generally, if not universally, averse to the Popish Religion. And yet, from the Year 1707, to 1745, three dangerous Rebellions,

See Col. *Hook's* Negotiations concerning the first of these Rebellions, which was the nursing Parent of the other two.—In that Rebellion, (1707, 8), even the *Presbyterians* of *Scotland* offered to rise singly, and alone, if they might be supplied with Arms from *France*, p. 8. &c. And "the Inhabitants alone of the North of *Ireland*, who are *Scots*, will,

bellions, in Favour of a *Papish Pretender*, were there raised, fomented, and headed, by some of its most eminent *Protestant Chiefs*; while not a single *Papish* of either high or low Degree, was known to stir in *Ireland*, or to be connected, or concerned, with them in any Respect whatever; which, probably, was owing, among other Causes, to *Ireland's* not being a *Protestant Country*, as *Scotland* is: For Unity in religious, as well as civil Concerns, renders a People conscious of greater Strength, and therefore more apt to murmur at, and openly resent, what, perhaps, if weakened by Disunion in either of these Respects, they would have patiently submitted to, or but repined at in Silence.

It less than a Century, after the Reduction of *Ireland* by *Henry II.* when *Papery* was the only established Religion, the *English* by Descent * conspired with the native *Irish* against the *English* by Birth, on Account of the latter's being generally appointed to Places of the greatest Trust

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of Sir John Davin. will, (says he,) directly furnish 20,000 Men, completely armed, under a Commander of great Reputation among "them, who has thereto Engaged himself." ib. p. 4. 5. See the Memorial of the *Scottish* Lords to the King of *France* on this Occasion. ib. p. 73.

and Power in that Kingdom; for that, it seems, was then thought (as it hath been often since) a sufficient Cause of Jealousy, and Complaint against our *Mother-Country*: And these *English* by *Descent*, thus conspiring with the native *Irish* summoned, and held several Parliaments apart from the *new English*; adopted the *Irish* Laws, Surnames, Customs, and Dress; and continued in this desperate State of Rebellion for near four hundred Years, to the Danger of utterly extirpating the *English* Name and Nation from among them; nor were they ever thoroughly made subject to *England*, until the Beginning of *James* the first's Reigu; at which Time, the Reformation having got Footing in different Parts of the Kingdom, new and opposite Interests arose among them; (the Source of much, and bitter, Contention!) by which they were considerably weakened: And thus, Sir, the whole Island, from Sea to Sea, was at length reduced under the immediate Subjection of the Crown of *England*.

For this Purpose, of dividing, and thereby weakening, the *Irish*, rather than for the Sake of propagating * true Religion among them

* This I am induced to think, from the bad Character of those Missioners, who first preach'd the Reformation in *Ireland*,

them, all our Viceroy's were extremely active in planting *British Protestants* in those Provinces

Ireland: That Character has been left us by the famous Mr. *Edmond Spenser*, a zealous *Protestant*, and Secretary in that Kingdom to *Ld. Deputy Gray*, in the Reign of *Q. Elizabeth*. For he informs us, in his *State of Ireland*, p. 135, &c. that, "whatever Disorders were (then) seen in the Church of *England*, might be found in that of *Ireland*, and many more; namely (proceeds he) gross *Simony*, greedy Covetousness, fleshly Incontinency, careless Sloth, and generally, all disordered Life in the common Clergy-men. And besides these, they have particular Enormities; for all *Irish* Priests, which now enjoy the Church-livings, are, in a Manner meer Lay-men—they neither read Scriptures, nor preach to the People;—only they take the Tythes and Offerings, and gather what Fruit else they may of their Livings; the which they convert as badly. As for the *English* Clergy, he tells us, that, "there were never such sufficient Ministers sent over as might be presented to any Bishop, for any Living; but that the most of such *English* as came over thither of themselves, were either unlearned, or Men of some bad Note, for which they had forsaken *England*." He concludes with these Words, "The Clergy there (*Ireland*), excepting the grave Fathers, which are in high Place about the State, and some few others, which are lately planted in the new College, are generally bad, licentious, and most disordered." How wretched, and pitiable must have been the Condition of the *Papists* in *Ireland* at that Juncture! fined, imprisoned, and otherwise grievously punished in their Persons, and Estates, for not abjuring the Religion of their Consciences, in Order to embrace new, and, to them, unintelligible Doctrines, delivered by such Missioners! I say Unintelligible; because the *Irish* *Papists* were then altogether as ignorant of the *English* Language, as the *English* Ministers were of the *Irish*.

For

of *Ireland*, which they knew to be most zealously addicted to Popery. The Earl of *Strafford*, in particular, while employed in that Business, told King *Charles I.* " that it was by much the greatest Service that remained to be done, with Regard to the future Securing, and conforming that People to every Command of the Crown of *England*."

But no sooner was the new Form of Worship generally introduced, and firmly established in *Ireland*, than the old Desire of *Independency* began to appear among Protestants themselves: So that *England* soon found, by the incessant Murmurs, and Complaints of Grievances from that Quarter, that an intire Union of Protestants there, might at length prove as troublesome, and dangerous to her Monarchy, as that of

Papists

For which Reason, Doctor *Hylke*, mentioning the Act of Uniformity in *Ireland*, candidly observes, that " these People, by that Statute, were required, under several Penalties, to frequent the Churches, and to be present at the reading of the *English* Liturgy, which they understood themselves than they did the *Mass*. By which Means (adds he) they were not only kept in continual Ignorance, as to the Doctrines and Devotions of the Church of *England* but also were furnished with an excellent Argument against *Ourselves*, for having the divine Service celebrated in such a Language as the People do not understand." Q. *Elimab. f. 128.*

Papists had formerly been; and the more, as it was manifest, that the People's Respect for monarchical Government, in all the three Kingdoms, had much decreased, ever since the civil Wars in them had, for a Time, abolished Monarchy itself. And, indeed, the old Antipathy between the *English* by *Birth*, and the *English* by *Descent*, seems them to have revived, and actually subsists at this Day: Since, whenever his Majesty thinks fit to bestow Places of Trust, or Power, there, on Englishmen by *Birth*, the most grievous Complaints are constantly heard from all Protestant Expectants, of ancient *British Descent*.

AND hence, Sir, it is, that such bold, and frequent Demands, for Redress of Grievances, have been made on *England*, by some of the most zealous, and eminent Irish *Protestants*, since the Revolution. Soon after that Period, Mr. *Molyneux*, (who had many powerful Partizans) openly asserted, in a Book dedicated to King *William* himself, the actual Independency of *Ireland* upon *England*. And towards the End of *George* the First's Reign, Dr. *Swift* as openly maintained the same Doctrine, and spread it through the Kingdom in printed Pamphlets. And so numerous, and violent were his Abettors among Irish *Protestants* of all Ranks, Parties and Denominations,

nations, that the whole Nation seemed ready to rise up in his Defence, had the Government continued to prosecute him with that Rigour, and Severity of Law, with which it at first seemed to threaten him.

FROM the same mistaken Notion of Independency, a Faction sprung up among them, in 1749, so daring, and dangerous, that one County alone of *Ireland*, offered to arm seventy thousand *Protestants* in its Support. And so generally, though secretly, diffused was that Notion through the whole Kingdom, that even those, who were then deemed the ablest, most active, and most steadfast Defenders of the Prerogative, and who, in Truth, greatly contributed to suppress that Faction, did afterwards, in 1753, for their own selfish Purposes (though under the specious Pretext of Patriotism) openly adopt, and riotously maintain, the same seditious Principles, both in and out of Parliament. But the greatest and most daring Outrage that, perhaps, ever was offered to Government, in that Kingdom, when no Rebellion was actually on Foot, was that which we saw in 1759, when, on a groundless Surmize, most artfully propagated by these Sticklers for Independency, of an intended Attack on the Liberties of that Country; the Populace was spirited up to insult, and assault, some of the

the principal Members of both Houses, on their Entrance into Parliament, to tender them Oaths framed by themselves, and suited to their own factious Purposes; and to intimidate, and disperse, by Threats and Abuse, all those who had the Courage to refuse them.

SUCH, Sir, has notoriously been the Behaviour of some Irish *Protestants*, at different Periods since the Revolution; while that of all *Irish Papists*, by the Confession of their very Enemies, was quiet and dutiful, and perfectly blameless in every Respect.

AND now, Sir, give me Leave to ask, would not the Addition of any Number of Converts to these Protestants, have proportionally encreased, rather than diminished, the public Disturbance and Danger, in any of these critical Conjunctions; especially, were the new Religion and Politics of these Converts to be formed, (as it most probably would be) on the Principles, or Practices, of such *Protestants*?

I will not directly affirm, that the implacable Hatred, which these *Independents* in Particular take all Opportunities of showing towards the *Roman-Catholics* of *Ireland*, proceeds from their Apprehension, that so numerous and well-

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disposed

displeased a Body of Men would be likely to frustrate any future Attempt of theirs, towards recovering their long wished for *Independency*; and that, therefore, they would be well enough pleased to have them put out of their Way, at any Rate. Such a Suspicion, however, may not be destitute of all Manner of Foundation. But, this, at least, is certain; that so much declared Banimy on one Side, must prevent all Friendship and Assistance from the other; and consequently must weaken both; by rendering impracticable any dangerous Coalition between them. Ought we not, therefore, to avail ourselves of this Division, and to countenance the loyal *Papists*, at least so far as to suffer them to become somewhat more considerable, than they now are, in the Eyes of their less deserving Fellow-Subjects; by Repealing, or Mitigating, some of those numerous Popery-Laws, by which they have been so long, and causelessly, oppressed? In that Case, Gratitude would attach them still more firmly to the Interests of their Protectors, on any future Emergency: And although these *Independents* would, then, have less Power to persecute, than they have hitherto had, and still desire to have, yet as much Jurisdiction and Authority would be left them, as it is proper that such Subjects of Great Britain, at such a Distance

Distance from her, should possess: More, indeed, would only serve to enable them to dissolve intirely those Ties of Duty and Allegiance to their Sovereign, which they have already, on so many different Occasions, but too much relaxed.

I am,

Sir,

&c.

F I N I S.

Distance from their financial position: More in-
deed, would only serve to enable them to dis-
pose of their property, which they have already, on
to their sovereigns, which they have already, on
to many different Occasions, but too much re-
served.

1899

Sir,

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F I W I S

APPENDIX

[No. I.]

A PROTESTATION of ALLEGIANCE, by thirteen Missioners, to Queen ELIZABETH, January 31st 1602. Taken from Hen. Moore's Hist. of the English Jesuits.

WHEREAS it hath pleased our dread sovereign Lady, to take some Notice of the Faith and Loyalty of us, her natural-born Subjects, secular Priests, (as it appeareth in her late Proclamation) and, of her princely Clemency, to give a sufficient Earnest of some merciful Favour towards us (being all subject, by the Laws of the Realm, unto Death, by our Return into the Country, after our taking the Order of Priesthood, since the first Year of her Majesty's Reign) and only to demand of us a true Profession of our Allegiance, thereby to be assured of our Fidelity to her Majesty's Person, and Crown, Estate and Dignity: We, whose Names are underwritten, in most humble Wise prostrate at her Majesty's Feet, do acknowledge ourselves infinitely bound unto her Majesty therefore; and are most willing to give such Assurance and Satisfaction in this Point, as any Catholic Priests can, or ought to give unto their Sovereign.

FIRST

FIRST, therefore, we acknowledge and confess the Queen's Majesty to have as full Authority, Power, and Sovereignty over us, and over all the Subjects of the Realm, as any her Highness's Predecessors ever had. And farther, we protest, that we are most willing and ready to obey her in all Cases and Respects, as far forth as ever Christian Priests within this Realm, or in any other Christian Country, were bound by the Law of God, and Christian Religion, to obey their temporal Prince; as to pay Tribute and all other regal Duties unto her Highness; and to obey her Laws, and Magistrates, in all Civil Causes; to pray to God for her prosperous and peaceful Reign in this Life, according to his blessed Will; and that she may hereafter attain everlasting Bliss in the Life to come. And this our Acknowledgement we think to be so grounded upon the Word of God, that no Authority, no Cause, or Pretence can, or ought, upon any Ocasion, to be a sufficient Warrant, more unto Us, than to any Protestant, to disobey her Majesty in any civil, or temporal Matter.

Secondly, Whereas for these many Years past, diverse Conspiracys against her Majesty's Person and Estate, and sundry forcible Attempts of invading and conquering her Dominions, have been made, under we know not what Pretences and Intendments of restoring the Catholic Religion by the Sword, (a Course most strange in the World, and undertaken peculiarly and solely against her Majesty and her Kingdoms, among other Princes departed from the Religion and Obedience of the See Apostolic, no less than she) By Reason of which violent Enterprises,

Enterprizes, her Majesty, otherwise of singular Clemency towards her Subjects, hath been greatly moved to ordain and execute severer Laws against Catholics (which, by Reason of their Union with the See Apostolic, in Faith and Religion, were easily supposed to favour these Conspiracys, and Invasions) than, perhaps, had ever been enacted, or thought upon, if such Hostilities and Wars had never been undertaken: We, to assure her Majesty of our faithful Loyalty also in this particular Cause, do sincerely protest, and, by this our public Fact, make known to all the Christian World, that in these Cases of Conspiracys, and Practising her Majesty's Death; of Invasions, or whatsoever forcible Attempts, which may hereafter be made by any foreign Prelate, Prince, or Potentate whatsoever, either jointly, or severally, for the Disturbance, or Subversion, of her Majesty's Person, Estate, Realm, or Dominions, under Colour, Shew, or Pretence, or Intendment, of restoring the Catholic Religion, in England, or Ireland; We will defend her Majesty's Person, Estate, Realms, and Dominions, from all such forcible and violent Assaults and injuries. And moreover, we will not only ourselves detect, and reveal any Conspiracys, or Plots, which we shall understand to be undertaken by any Prelate, Prince, or Potentate, against her Majesty's Person, or Dominions, for any Cause whatsoever (as is before expressed) and likewise, to the best of our Power, resist them; but also will earnestly persuade, as much as in us lieth, all Catholics to do the same.

Thirdly: If upon any Excommunications denounced against her Majesty, upon any such Conspiracys, Invasions, or forcible Attempts, to
be

be made, as are before expressed, the Pope should also excommunicate every one born within her Majesty's Dominions, that would not forsake the foresaid Defence of her Majesty and her Realms, and take Part with such Conspirators, or Invaders: In these, and all other such like Cases, we do think ourselves, and all the Lay-catholics born within her Majesty's Dominions, *bound in Conscience* not to obey this, or any such like Censure; but will defend our Prince, and Country, accounting it our Duty so to do, and, notwithstanding any Authority, or any Excommunication whatsoever, either denounced, or to be denounced, (as is before said) to yield unto her Majesty all Obedience in temporal Causes.

And because Nothing is more certain, than that, whilst we endeavour to assure her Majesty of our dutiful Affection and Allegiance, by this our Christian and sincere Protestation, there will not want such as will condemn and misconstrue our lawful Fact; yea, and by many sinister Suggestions and Calumnies, discredit our Doings with the Christian World; but chiefly with the Pope's Holyness; to the greatest Prejudice, and Harm, of our good Names and Persons, that may be; unless maturely we prevent their Endeavours therein: We most humbly beseech her Majesty, that, in this our recognizing, and yielding *Cæsar's* Due unto her, we may also, by her gracious Leave, be permitted, for avoiding Obloquies and Calumnies, to make known, by like public Act, that, by yielding her Right unto her, we depart from no Bond of that Christian Duty, which we owe unto our *supreme spiritual Pastor*: And, therefore, we acknowledge

ledge and confess the Bishops of *Rome* to be the Successors of *St. Peter*, in that See; and to have as ample, and no more Authority, or Jurisdiction over us, and other Christians, than had that Apostle, by the Gift and Commission of *Christ*, our Saviour; and that we will obey him so far forth, as we are bound by the Laws of God to do; which, we doubt not but will stand well with the Performance of our Duty to our temporal Prince, in such Sort as we have before professed. For as we are most ready to spend our Blood in the Defence of her Majesty, and our Country, so we will rather lose our Lives, than infringe the lawful Authority of *Christ's Catholic Church*.

<i>Robert Drury,</i>	<i>William Bishop,</i>
<i>John Jackson,</i>	<i>John Colleton,</i>
<i>Francis Barnaby,</i>	<i>John Myle,</i>
<i>Oswald Needham,</i>	<i>Robert Charnock,</i>
<i>Richd. Busson,</i>	<i>John Boswile,</i>
<i>Antony Champney,</i>	<i>Antony Hepburn,</i>
	<i>Roger Cadwallar,</i>

N. B. Dr. William Bishop, who was principally concerned in drawing up this Protestation, was afterwards appointed by the See of *Rome*, Bishop of *Calcedon*. *Dod's Ecol. Hist. V. 2d.*

~~the made, as we have seen, the Pope~~
~~and comes the Bishop of Rome to be~~
~~the Successor of St. Peter, and to~~
~~have as much, and no more Authority, of~~
~~jurisdiction over us, and other Christians, than~~
~~had this Pope, by the Gift and Commission~~
~~of God, his Lord and Father, who gave him~~
~~the Power, and Authority, to do what he~~
~~of God to do, which we doubt not, but will~~

A Letter from KING JAMES to POPE CLEMENT
 VIII, from Holyrood-House, Sept. 24th 1599.
 See *Rusworts's Collect.* Vol. p. 162.

Beatiſſime Pater.

CUM variis ad nos perlatum fuisset Rumoribus, quam diligenter nostræ Sortis æmuli sapienter Egissent, ut Authoritatis Vestræ A-cies in nos distringeretur, quæq; Constantia id pro Vestra Prudentiâ hactenûs fuerit recusatum; committere Nolumus, quin, accepti Memores beneficii, gratias ageremus, opportunam nacti occasionem, cum lator præsentium, natione nostras, vester ascriptus, in fines ditionis vestræ reverteretur, quem, pro sua indole, vestris ornatum beneficiis, vestræ Sanctitati commendamus, ut cum in his, quæ nostro nomine habet impertinenda, audire placidè non dedignetur. Et quia adversus malevolorum calumnias, qui nostras in *Carbolicos* injurias commemorando, nobis invidiam, & sibi gratiam, conciliant, nullum tutius remedium agnoscimus, quam ut e nostratibus aliqui veritatis studiosi, quantumvis a religione, quam nos a prima hausimus infantia, abhorrentes, honestam in curia Romana demorandi occasionem semper haberent, ex quibus vestra Sanctitas certo possit in quo statu res nostræ sunt edificare; hoc nomine episcopum *Vazoniensem* vobis commendamus, qui ut sortis suæ quaecunque incrementum vestræ Sanctitati duntaxat refert

refert acceptum, ita *cardinalatus honorem* prioribus beneficiis, nostra praesertim gratia, adjici obnixè rogamus: sic mimicorum cessabunt calumniæ, presentibus qui rerum gestarum veritatem possint adstruere. Nec actionum nostrarum ullam æquos rerum estimatores cupimus latere; qui in ea religionis quam profiteamur puritate enutriti, sic semper statuimus, nihil melius, tutiusq; quam, citra fucum, in iis promovendis, quæ divini numinis gloriam, serio spectant, pie contendere; et, remotis invidiæ stimulis, non tam quid religionis *inane nomen*, quam quod veræ pietatis sacrosancta tessera requirat, charitatis semper adhibito fomento, diligentur considerare. Sed quia de his copiosius cum latore presentium, viro non inerudito, & in rebus nostris mediocriter versato, disseruimus, longioris epistolæ tedio censuimus abstinendum.

Beatitudinis Vestræ

Obsequentissimus filius

J. R.

No. III.

Conclusion of the Articles agreed upon between the Kings of *England* and *Spain*, with Respect to the intended Marriage of Prince *Charles* with the Infanta of *Spain*. From Sir, *P. Per*'s Obligat. of Oaths. f. 94.

THAT we will interpose our Authority, and do as much as in us shall lye, that the Parliament shall approve, confirm, and

" ratifie all and singular Articles in Favour of
 " the *Roman-Catholics*, capitulated between the
 " most renowned Kings, by Reason of this
 " Marriage: And that the said Parliament
 " shall revoke and abrogate those particular
 " Laws made against the said *Roman-Catholics*,
 " to whose Observance also the rest of our Sub-
 " jects and Vassals are not obliged: as like-
 " wise, the general Laws, under which all are
 " equally comprehended, to wit, as to the *Ro-*
 " *man-Catholics*, if they be such, as is aforesaid,
 " which are repugnant to the *Roman-Catholic*
 " Religion. And that, hereafter, we will not
 " consent, that the said Parliament should ever,
 " at any Time, enact, or write, any other new
 " Laws against *Roman-Catholics*. We, account-
 " ing all, and singular the preceding Articles
 " ratified, and accepted, out of certain Know-
 " ledge, as far as they concern us, our Heirs,
 " or Successors, approve, ratify, applaud, and
 " promise *bonâ fide*, and in the Word of a King
 " by these Presents, inviolably, firmly, well and
 " faithfully to keep, observe, and fulfil the
 " same; and to cause them to be kept, obser-
 " ved, and fulfilled, without any Exception, or
 " Contradiction; and do confirm the same by
 " Oath upon the Holy Evangelists, notwith-
 " standing any Opinions, Sentences, or Laws
 " whatsoever to the Contrary. In the Presence
 " of the most illustrious Don *John de Mendoza*,
 " Marquess of *Inojosa*, and Don *Charles Coloma*,
 " Extraordinary Embassadors of the Catholic
 " King; of *George Calvert*, Knight, one of our
 " chief Secretaries; of *Edward Conway*, Knight,
 " another of our chief Secretaries; of *Francis*
 " *Cottington*, Baronet, of the Privy Council to
 " our Son the Prince; of *Francis de Coronadelet*,
 " Apostolical

" Apostolical, or the Pope's, Prothonotary, and
 " Archdeacon of *Cambrey*. Dated at our Pa-
 " lace at *Westminster*, the 20th Day of *July*,
 " 1623, in the *English Style*."

JACOBUS Rex.

(A compared and true Copy.)

George Calvert, Chief Secretary.

No. IV.

" The Form of the Oath, which the Lords
 " of the Privy Council took to the former Arti-
 " cles, is this which followeth, found among
 " Lord *Cottington's Papers*" *Sr. P. Pett*. Oblig.
 of Oaths, f. 95.

" Formula Juramenti a Consiliarij Præstandi."

" EGO N. juro me debitè, plenèq; obser-
 " vaturum, quantum ad me spectat, om-
 " nes, & singulos articulos qui in Tractatu ma-
 " trimonii, inter serenissimum CAROLUM, *Wal-*
 " *lie* Principem, et serenissimam Dominam, Don-
 " nam MARIAM, *Hispaniarum* Infantam, conti-
 " nentur. JURO ETIAM, quod neque per
 " me, neque per ministrum aliquem inferiorem
 " mihi inservientem, Legem ullam contra quem
 " cunq; Catholicum *Romanum* conscriptam.
 " Executioni mandabo, aut mandari faciam,
 penamve

“pnamve ullam, ab earum aliqua, irrogatam
 “exigam. Sed in omnibus quæ ad me perti-
 “nent, ordines a Majestate sua ex eâ parte
 “constitutos fideliter observabo.”

No. V.

Extract of the *Observer*, No. 14. printed in
London, about the Year 1681.

“**A**T the Sessions in the *Old Baily*, April,
 “26. 1666, several * Officers, or Soldiers,
 “in the late Rebellion, were indicted for con-
 “spiring the Death of his Majesty, and the O-
 “verthrow of the Government; having laid
 “their Plot and Contrivance for the Surprizal of
 “the Tower, the killing of his Grace the Lord
 “General, Sir *John Robinson*, Lieutenant of his
 “Majesty’s Tower of *London*, and Sir *Richard*
 “*Brown*; and then to have declared for an
 “equal Division of Land, &c. The better to
 “effect this hellish Design, *the City was to have*
 “*been fired, and the Portcullis to have been let*
 “*down, to keep out all Assistance*, the Horse-
 “Guard to have been surprized in the Inns,
 “where they were quartered; several Ostelers
 “having been gained for that Purpose. The
 “third of *September* was pitched on for the At-
 “tempt; as being found by *Lilly’s Almanack*,
 “and a Scheme erected for that Purpose, to be a
 “lucky

* The Names of these were *John Rathbone*, an old Oli-
 verian Officer; *William Sanders*; *Henry Tucker*; *Thomas*
Flint; *Thomas Evans*; *John Miles*; *William Westcot*; and
John Cole: all of them Officers or Soldiers in the Grand Re-
 bellion.

“ lucky Day, a Planet then ruling, which prognosticated the Downfal of Monarchy. The Evidence against the Persons was full and clear, and they, accordingly, found guilty of high Treason, and executed on the 30th of the same Month. And that Part of this *Whiggish* Design, says my Author, that was levelled at the City of *London*, had its Effect afterwards, as it is said, *Some of these Malefactors threatened it should*, though they were executed.” *Heraclit. Ridens* V. 2. No. 64.

[No. VI.]

A Catalogue of those Catholics who died, and suffered for their Loyalty to King *Charles 1st.* from Lord *Castlemain's Catholic Apology*, Page 574.

THE Earl of *Carnarvan*, slain at *New-bury*, (first Battle.)

The Lord Viscount *Dunbar*, at *Scarborough*, and two of his Sons much wounded.

Sir *John Smith*, Banneret, (who rescued the King's Standard from the Rebels at *Edge-bill*), slain at *Altesford* in *Hampshire*.

Sir *John Cansfield*, wounded at *New-bury*, of which he died a lingering Death.

Sir *Henry Gage*, Governor of *Oxford*, slain at *Collum-bridge*.

Sir *J. Digby*, wounded at *Taunton*, and died at *Bridge-water*.

Sir *P. Brown*, wounded at *Naseby*, died at *Northampton*.

Sir *Nich. Fortescue*, Knight of *Malta*, slain in *Lanchashire*.

Sir

Sir *Troilus Turberville*, Captain-Lieutenant of the King's Life-guard, slain upon his Majesty's marching from *Newark* to *Oxford*.

Sir *J. Preston*, wounded at *Fournace*; of which he died.

Sir *Arthur Aston*, Governor of *Reading*, slain at *Tredagh*.

Sir *Thomas Tildesly*, slain at *Wiggan*.

Sir *Henry Slingby*, beheaded on *Tower-bill*.

Col. *Thomas Howard*, Son of Lord *William Howard*, slain at *Pierbridge*.

Col. *Thomas Howard*, Son of Sir *Francis*, at *Atherton-moor*; the gaining of which Battle was principally ascribed to his Valour.

Col. *Thomas Morgan*, of *Weston*, in *Warwickshire*; slain at the first *Newbury-battle*: He raised a Regiment of Horse for the King, at his own Charge, and his Estate was given to Mr. *Pym's* Son.

Col. *Cuthbert Conniers*, at *Malpass*.

Col. *Thomas Dalton*, of *Tburnham*, mortally wounded at *Newbury* (second Battle) and died at *Marlborough*.

Col. *Francis Hungate*, slain at *Chester*.

Col. *Poor*, Governor of *Berkley-Castle*, near *Lidnary*.

Col. *Willm. Ewre*, Son of the late Lord *Ewre*, at *Marston-moor*.

Col. *Ra. Pudsey*, at ———

Col. *Cuth. Clifton*, slain at *Manchester*.

Col. *Cassey Bental*, at *Stow*, in the *Wolds*.

Col. *Trollop*, slain at *Wiggan*.

Col. *Willm. Bains*, at *Malpass*.

Col. *Willm. Walton*, at *Tredagh*.

Col. *Richd. Manning*, at *Alresford*.

Lieut. Col. *Thomas Markam*, of *Allerton*, slain near *Grainborough*.

L. Col.

- L. Col. *Lancelot Holiby*, at *Brantiford*.
 L. Col. *Haggerston*, at *Preston*.
 L. Col. *Pavier*, at *Line*.
 L. Col. *Jordan Metbuan*, at *Pontefract*.
 L. Col. *John Godfrey*, at *Tewks-bury*.
 L. Col. *George Preston*, at *Bradford*.
 L. Col. *Willm. Houghton*, at *New-bury*.
 L. Col. *Philip Howard*, slain at *Chester*.
 L. Col. *Middleton*, at *Hopton-beath*.
 L. Col. *Michael Constable*, there also.
 L. Col. *Sayer*, at *Naseby*.
 L. Col. *Scot*, at *Alresford*.
 L. Col. *Thomas Salvin*, at ———
 L. Col. *Richd. Brown*, at ———
 L. Col. *Goodridge*, wounded at ——— and died
 at *Oxford*.
 L. Col. *Congrave*, slain at *Dean*, in *Gloucester*.
 Major *Cusand*, slain at the taking of *Basing*.
 Major *Richd. Harborn*, wounded at *Mal-pass*,
 died at *Kendall*.
 Major *T. Vavasor*, slain at *Marston-moor*.
 Major *Panton*, wounded at *Cover*, died at *Higb-*
meadow.
 Major *Hudleston*, slain at *York*.
 Major *Thomas Ewre*, at *New-bury*, (first Battle.)
 Major *Laurence Clifton*, at *Shelford-house*.
 Major *Thomas Heskith*, at *Malpass*.
 Major *Willm. Leake*, at *Newbury*, first Battle.
 Major *Rively*, wounded at *Naseby*, died Prisoner
 at *London*.
 Major *Richd. Sberburn*, at ———
 Major *Holmby*, at *Henly*.
 Major *Richd. Norwood*, slain before *Taunton*.
 Captain *Marmaduke Constable*, Standard-Bearer
 to Lt. Gen. *Lindsey*, slain at *Edge-hill*.
 Capt. *Willm. Laborn*, and Capt. *Mat. Anderton*,
 at *Sheriff-button*, in *Yorkshire*.

Q

Capt.

- Capt. *Joseph Constable*, at *Newbury*.
 Capt. *Wiburn*, slain at *Basing*.
 Capt. *Burgh*, slain at *Cover*.
 Capt. *Thurston Anderton*, wounded at *Newbury*,
 died at *Oxford*.
 Capt. *Haggerston*, (eldest Son of *St. Thomas*) in
Lancashire.
 Capt. *Anthony Rigby*, at *Basing-Horse*.
 Capt. *Richd. Bradford*, at ———
 Capt. *Kenelm Digby*, eldest Son of *St. Kenelm*
Digby, raised a Troop of Horse at his own
 Charge, and was slain at *St. Neots*.
 Capt. *Ratcliff Houghton*, at *Preston*.
 Capt. *Richd. Molyneux*, of the Wood in *Lan-*
chashire, slain at *Newbury*, first Battle.
 Capt. *Charles Thimelby*, at *Worcester*.
 Capt. *Robt. Townsend*, at *Edge-hill*.
 Capt. *Matt. Ratcliff*, near *Henley*.
 Capt. *Richd. Wolsale*, at *Newbury*.
 Capt. *Anthony Awd*.
 Capt. *Thomas Cole*, at *Newark*.
 Capt. *Partison*, at *Wigan*.
 Capt. *Maximil. Nelson*, at *Marston-moor*.
 Capt. *Francis Godfrey*, slain at *Sherburn*.
 Capt. *Thomas Meynel*, at *Portesfract*.
 Capt. *John Clifton*, at *Shelford-House*.
 Capt. *Abraham Lance*, and Capt. *Robt. Lance*,
 at *Row-ton* in *Chestershire*.
 Capt. *Antony Hamerton*, near *Manchester*.
 Capt. *Willm. Symcoks*, Capt. Lieutenant to *Ld.*
Piercy, slain at *Newbury*, first Battle.
 Capt. *Thomas Singleton*, at *Newbury*, first Battle.
 Capt. *Francis Errington*, of *Denton*, in *Nar-*
thumberland, at *Rotheram*.
 Capt. *George Singleton*, at ———
 Capt. *Michael Fitzakerly*, at *Liverpool*.
 Capt. *Daniel Thorold*, at *Naseby*.

Capt.

- Capt. Francis Clifton, at Newbury, first Battle.
 Capt. John Lance, at Uxbridge.
 Capt. George Casley, at Hereford.
 Capt. Langdale, at Greckbovel, in Wales.
 Capt. Carver, in Monmouthshire.
 Capt. John Lingen, at Ledbury.
 Capt. Samways, at Newbury, 2d Battle.
 Capt. John Plumson, slain at York.
 Capt. Peter Forcer, at —
 Capt. Thomas Whittingham, at Newbury.
 Capt. Winkely, at Liverpool.
 Capt. Thomas Anderton, at —
 Capt. Richd. Walmsly, at Ormschurch.
 Capt. John Singlehurst, and Capt. John Butler,
 at Marston-moor.
 Capt. George Holden, at Litchfield.
 Capt. Thomas Charnoc, at —
 Capt. Robt. Dent, at New-Castle.
 Capt. Thomas Hestith, and Capt. John Knipe, at
 Bindle.
 Capt. Thomas Eccleston, at Worrenton.
 Capt. John Huthersal.
 Capt. Nichol. Anderson, at Green-Castle.
 Capt. Antony Gurlington, at Lancaster.
 Capt. Francis Rous, in Dean-forest.
 Capt. Randolph Wallinger, at Cover.
 Capt. Christopher Wrey, slain at Bradford.
 Capt. Willm. Rookwood, slain at Alresford.
 Capt. Robert Rookwood, at Oxford.
 Capt. Hoskins, slain at Lidney.
 Capt. Philip Darcy, at —
 Capt. Willm. Jones, at Ragland.
 Capt. Henry Wells, wounded at Newbury, 2d.
 Battle, died in Prison in London.
 Capt. Richardson, slain before Farnham.
 Capt. Thomas Madden, slain in Wood-street.
 Lieut. Willm. Butler, slain at Newbury.

Lieut. *Robt. Osbaldston*, at *Leeds*.
 Lieut. *George Hotbersale*, at *Liverpool*.
 Lieut. *Willm. Girlington*, at ———
 Lieut. *John Kulkbeth*, at *Worral*.
 Lieut. *Willm. Singleton*, at *Marston*.
 Lieut. *Peter Boardman*, at *Bradford*.
 Lieut. *Short*, slain near *Gloucester*.
 Lieut. *Richd. Bradfort*, at *Blecbinton*.
 Lieut. *James Bradfort*, at ———
 Lieut. *Thomas Kinsman*, at *Lincoln*.
 Lieut. *John Birch*, at *Brimicham*.
 Lieut. *Staley*, at *Rushball-ball*.
 Cornet *Willm. Culbercth*, at *Newbury*.
 Cor. *Deinton*, at *Cardiff*.
 Cor. *Rob. Lance*, at *Cesbire*.
 Cor. *Edw. Walker*, at *Burton*.
 Cor. *Miles Lockard*, at *Gooderige*.

Gentlemen Volunteers.

The Hon. *Edw. Talbot*, Brother to the Earl of
Shewsbury, slain at *Marston-moor*.
 Mr. *Charles Townly*, and Mr. *Charles Sberburn*,
 there also.
 Mr. *Nich. Thimelby*, at *Bristol*.
 Mr. *Pool*, of *Worral*, at ———
 Mr. *John Tipper*, at *Newman*.
 Mr. *Christ. Blunt*, at *Edgbalston*.
 Mr. *Theodore Mause*, at *Langport*.
 Mr. *Gerard Salvin*, at ———
 Mr. *Francis Darcy*, at ———
 Mr. *Wiburn*,
 Mr. *Robt. Bowles*, } at *Basing*.
 Mr. *Willm. Stoner*, }
 Col. *Price* of *Wasingly*, in *Northamptonshire*,
 slain at *Lincoln*.
 Mr. *Cuthbert Ratcliff*, slain at *Newcastle*.
 Mr. *Thomas*

Mr. *Thomas Latbam*, at *Newark*.
 Mr. *Andrew Giffard*, at *Hampton*.
 Mr. *Lewis Blunt*, at *Manchester*.
 Mr. *Cary*, and Mr. *Jennings*, at *Shelford-House*.
 Mr. *James Anderton*, in *Wales*.
 Mr. *Thomas Roper*, at *Gotberidge*.
 Mr. *Stephen Pudsey*, in *Holderness*.
 Mr. *Francis Pavier*, at *Marston*.
 Mr. *James Baton*, at *Cover*.
 Mr. *Pendrel*, at *Stow*.
 Mr. *Boniface Kemps*, and Mr. *Ildefons Hesketh*,
 slain near *York*.
 Mr. *Mich. Wharion*, at *Scarborough*.
 Mr. *Errington*, at *Chester*.
Thomas Westby, Dr. of *Physick*, at *Preston*.
 Mr. *Peter Davis*, at *Denbigh*.
 Mr. *Edwd. Davis*, at *Chester*.
 Mr. *Bret*, at ———
 Mr. *Roger Wood*, at *Chester*.
 Mr. *Henry Lawson*, at *Melton*.
 Mr. *Thomas Craithorn*, the Elder, at *Upbaven*.
 Mr. *John Johnson*, at ———
 Three Sons of Mr. *Kitby*, of *Ranchliff*.
John Witham, *Will. Selby*, at *Preston*.

More Catholics that died for their Loyalty in
 that War.

Sr. *Tim. Fetherston*, killed at *Chester*.
 Col. *Ford Bevill*, killed at *Preston*.
 Lieut. Col. *George Plucknet*, who was Lieut. Col.
 to Sr. *Gervas Lucas*, killed at *Burley-house*,
 near *Stamford*.
 Major *Gilbert Markam*, Major of Col. *Wray's*
 Regiment, wounded at *Westchester*, and died
 in Prison,

Major

Major *Whitmore*, Major to Lord *John Ruffell's*
Regiment, killed at *Newark*.

Major *Trollop*, killed at *Newark*.

Capt. *Charles Sberburn*, killed at *Shelford-house*,
where the *Queen's Regiment of Horse* was
put to the *Sword*.

Capt. *Thomas Pasfon*, slain at *Tork*.

Capt. *Henry Butler*, slain at *Brindle*.

Capt. *Andrew Meynell*, slain at *Marston-moor*.

Capt. *Thomas Wood*, slain at *Preston*.

Lieut. *George Collingwood*, slain at *Newbury*,
first Battle.

Lieut. *George Fitzwilliams*, who died of his
Wounds received at *Barton*, upon *Trent*.

Lieut. *George*, slain at *Newbury*.

Cornet *George Dy*, who died at *Tork* of his
Wounds received at *Bransford*.

Mr. *Herb. Maxwell*, at *Aberfain*, by *Andrew*.

Mr. *Rd. Sheborne*, slain at *Raglan*.

Mr. *Willm. Alesty*, slain at *Wiggen*.

Major Genl. *Willm. Webb*, so wounded at *New-
berry*, by *Cafe-shot*, that he lives a dying
Life.

The Names of such *Roman-Catholics*, whose
Estates, both real and personal, were sold, in
Pursuance of an Act made by the *Rump-Par-
liament*, *July 16th, 1651*, for their pretended
Delinquency.

John Ld. Marquess of Winchester, who so val-
lantly defended *Basing-house*.

Henry Ld. Marquess of Worcester, who has been
at least three hundred thousand Pounds a
Loser by the War.

Francis Ld. Cottington
Lord John Somerset.

Marmaduke

Marmaduke, Lord Langdale, and his Son, Sir John Winter, who so stoutly defended Lidbury-house.

Sir Thomas Tildesly; himself slain and his Estate sold.

Sir Henry Slingsby, beheaded at Tower-hill, and his Estate sold.

Sir Piercy Herbert, now Lord Powis.

Sir Francis Howard.

Sir Henry Beddingfield.

Sir Arthur Aston, Governor of Reading.

Sir Thomas Haggerston.

Roger Rodenham, Esq;

Charles Townly, Esq;

Rowland Eyre, Esq;

Peter Pudsey, Esq;

John Giffard, Esq;

Other Roman-Catholics, whose Estates were sold by an additional RUMP-ACT, made, August 4th, 1652.

Henry Ld. Visct. Dunbar, and his Son.

Sir Willm. Pavafor.

Sir Edwd. Radcliff.

Thomas Chifton, Esq;

Peter Gifford, of Chillington, Esq;

Walter Fowler, of St. Thomas, Esq;

Thomas Brook, of Madelay, Esq;

Francis Biddulph, of Biddulph, Esq;

Willm. Middleton, of Stetton, Esq;

Nich. Errington, Esq;

Langre Errington, Esq;

John Jones, of Dingewow, Esq;

John Weston, Esq;

Phil. Hungate, Esq;

Rob. Doleman, Gent.

Rich.

Rich. Masley, Gent.
George Smith, Gent.
Ralph Pudsey, Gent.

More Catholics, whose Estates were sold by another RUMP-ACT, made November 18th, 1652.

Henry, Lord Arundel, of Wardour, who raised a Regiment of Horse for the King, and whose Castle of Wardour was so gallantly defended against Edward Hungerford.

Henry Lord Morley and Mounteagle.

Willm. Lord Ewre.

Willm. Lord Powis, who held long his Castle of Powis against the Enemy; and, being taken in it, was kept a great while Prisoner at Stafford, and died in Durance at London.

Lord Charles Somerset.

Sir Walter Blunt, long a Prisoner in the Tower.

Sir Edwd. Witbrington, who raised a Regiment of Horse.

Sir Richd. Tichburn.

Sir Charles Blunt, slain by one of his own Captains.

Sir J. Clavering, died a Prisoner at London.

Sir John Cansfield.

Sir John Thimelby of Ernam.

Sir Philip Constable.

Sir Edw. Plumptre.

Sir Nich. Thornton; who raised a Troop of Horse at his own Charge.

Hugh Anderton, of Exton.

Thomas Langtree, of Langtree.

Will. Hoghton, Esq;

Will. Hesketh, Esq;

Will. Latham, Esq;

Thomas

Thomas Singleton, Esq;
John Westby, Esq;
Sir Edwd. Charleston.
Will. Sheldon, of Beely, Esq;
Will. Gage, of Bensly, Esq;
Tho. Clavering, Esq;
John Plumptre, Esq;
Marm. Holby, Esq;
Hen. Englefield, Esq;
Rob. Wignmore, Esq;
Rob. Cramblington, Esq;
Will. Sherburn, Esq;
John Constable, Esq;
Richd. Latbun, Esq;
Will. Bawd, Esq;
James Anderton, of Bircbley, Esq;
Thomas Singleton, Esq;
John Talbot, Esq;
Nich. Fitzakerly, Esq;
John Piercy, Esq;
Thomas Aclon, of Burton, Esq;
Thomas Gillibrand, Esq;
Thomas Grimshaw, Esq;
Ralph. Rishton, and Will. Flower, Gentn.
Richd. Chorley, of Chorley.
James Anderton, of Clayton, Esq;
Will. Anderton, of Anderton, Esq;
Mr. Edmd. Church, of Essex; was one of the
first whose Personal Estate was plundered, and
his Real sequester'd; which so continued,
without any Allowance to his Wife and Chil-
dren, from 1642, to 1649, when he died a
Prisoner.
Mr. John Barlow, of Pembrokesbire; his whole
*Estate being at least 1500*l.* per An. was given*
to Col. Horion, and Capt. Nicholas, without

R
Allowance

Allowance of any Fifths or other Sustainance,
for his Wife and many Children.

Lieut. Col. *Thomas Markam*, of *Ollerton*, whose
Estate was begged by *Francis Thorney*, a Co-
lonel for the Rebels.

Sir *John Middleton*, of *Yorkshire*, whose Estate
was sold by the Rebels.

Mrs. *Fitzwilliams*, of *Claseby*, in *Lincolnshire*,
who tho' an hundred Years old; yet for being
a *Papist*, and having her Sons in the King's
Army, was plundered by the Rebels; had
her Estate, which was about 500*l.* a Year se-
questered; and tho' the Rebels were entreated
to allow her 30*l.* a Year, they refused it.

The
Mr. *John Church*, of *Essex*; was one of the
whose *Parish* Estate was plundered, and
Real Estate; which is continued,
without any Allowance to his Wife and Chil-
dren, from 1642, to 1649, when he died a
Papist.
Mr. *John Church*, of *Pembroke*, his whole
Estate being at least 1500*l.* per Annum was given
to Col. *Hart*, and Capt. *Widdow*, without
Allowance.

The several Arguments of Sir Stephen Rice, Sir Theobald Butler, and Counsellor Malone, at the Bar of the House of Commons of Ireland, Feb. 22d and at the Bar of the House of Lords Feb. 28th 1703, against passing the Bill intituled, An Act to prevent the further Growth of Popery.

THE Papists of Ireland observing that the House of Commons, were preparing the Heads of a Bill to be transmitted to England, to be drawn up into an Act, to prevent the further Growth of Popery, and having in Vain endeavoured to put a Stop to it there; at its Remittance back again to Ireland, presented to the House of Commons a Petition in the Names of Nicholas Ld. Visc. Kingstand, Colonel J. Brown, Colonel Burk, Colonel Robert Nugent, Major Pat. Allen, Captain Arthur French, and other Roman Catholics of Ireland, praying to be heard by their Council against the passing the said Bill, then under Consideration of the said House; and to have a Copy of the Bill, and a reasonable Time to speak to it before it passed. Which Petition being referred to the Committee of the whole House, to whom the Consideration of the said Bill was referred, it was Ordered, that the Petitioners should have a Copy of the said Bill, and be heard by their Council, before the said Committee.

And in Pursuance of that Order, Sir Theobald Butler, Counsellor Malone, and Sir Stephen Rice; (the two first in their Gowns as Council for the Petitioners in general, and the last without a Gown, only as a Petitioner, in his private Capacity,) together with many others, upon Tuesday the 22d of Feb. 1703; appeared at the Bar of

the said *House of Commons*, where Sir *Theobald Butler*, first moved, and acquainted the House, that “ by the Permission of that House, he was
 “ come thither in behalf of himself, and the rest
 “ of the *Roman Catholics of Ireland* comprized
 “ in the *Articles of Limerick and Galway*, to
 “ offer some Reasons which he and the rest of
 “ the Petitioners, judged very material against
 “ passing the Bill, intituled *An Act to prevent the*
 “ *further Growth of Popery*; that by Leave of
 “ the House, he had taken a Copy of the said
 “ Bill (which he had there in his Hand,) and
 “ with Submission, look’d upon it to tend to the
 “ destroying of the said *Articles*, granted upon
 “ the most valuable Considerations of surrender-
 “ ing the said *Garrisons*, at a Time, when they
 “ had the Sword in their Hands; and for any
 “ Thing that then appeared to the contrary,
 “ might have been in a Condition, to hold out
 “ much longer, and when it was in their Power
 “ to demand, and make for themselves such
 “ Terms, as might be for their then future
 “ *Liberty, Safety and Security*: and that too,
 “ when the allowing such Terms, were highly
 “ advantageous to the Government, to which,
 “ they submitted; as well for uniting the *People*,
 “ that were then divided, quieting and settling
 “ the Distractions and Disorders of this then mi-
 “ serable Kingdom, as for the other Advantages
 “ the Government would thereby reap in its
 “ own Affairs, both at home and abroad; when
 “ its Enemys were so powerful both by Sea and
 “ Land, as to give Doubt or *Interruption*, to its
 “ *Peace and Settlement*.”
 “ That by such their Power, those of *Limerick*
 “ did for themselves, and others therein compriz’d,
 “ obtain, and make such *Articles*, as by which, all
 the

“ the *Irish Inhabitants* in the *City and County of*
 “ *Limerick*, and in the *Counties of Clare, Kerry,*
 “ *Cork, Sligo and Mayo*, had full, and free *Pardon*
 “ of and for all *Attainders, Out-Lawries, Treasons,*
 “ *Misprision of Treasons, Felonies, Trespasses* and
 “ other *Crimes* whatever, which at any *Time*
 “ from the *Beginning of King James the Second,*
 “ to the *3d of October 1691*, had been acted,
 “ committed, or done, by them, or any of them;
 “ and by which they and their *Heirs* were to be
 “ forthwith put in *Possession* of, and for ever pos-
 “ sess, and enjoy all and every of their *Freeholds,*
 “ and *Inheritance*; and all their *Rights, Titles,*
 “ and *Interests, Priviledges and Immunities*, which
 “ they and every of them held and enjoy’d, and
 “ by the *Laws* in force were intituled unto, in the
 “ *Reign of King Charles the second*, or at any
 “ *Time* since, by the *Laws and Statutes* that were
 “ in force in that *Reign, &c.* and thereupon read
 “ so much of the second *Article of Limerick*, as
 “ tended to that *Purpose*.

“ That in the *Reign of King Charles the second*
 “ the *Petitioners*, and all that were intituled to the
 “ *Benefit of those Articles*, were in such full and
 “ free *Possession* of their *Estates*, and had the same
 “ *Power* to sell, or otherwise to dispose, or convey
 “ them, or any other *Thing* they enjoyed; and
 “ were as rightfully intituled to all the *Priviledges,*
 “ *Immunities*, and other *Advantages* whatever ac-
 “ cording to the *Laws* then in *Force*, as any other
 “ *Subjects* whatsoever, and which therefore with-
 “ out the *biggest Injustice*, could not be taken
 “ from them, unless they had forfeited them
 “ themselves.

“ That if they had made any such *Forfeiture*, it
 “ was either before or after the making the said
 “ *Articles*; if before, they had a full and free *Par-*
 “ *don*

" do for that by the said *Articles*, &c. and there-
 " fore are not accountable by any Law now in
 " Force for the same; and for that Reason not
 " now to be charged with it, and since they can-
 " not be charged with any general *Forfeiture* of
 " those *Articles* since, they at that same Time
 " remained as absolutely intitled to all the *Pri-
 " viledges, Advantages and Benefits* of the *Laws*
 " both already made, and hereafter to be made, as
 " any other of Her Majesty's Subjects whatsoever.

" That among all Societies there were some ill
 " People, but that by the 10th Article of *Limerick*
 " the whole Community is not to be charged with,
 " nor forfeit, by the Crimes of particular Persons.

" That there were already wholesome Laws in
 " Force sufficient, and if not, such as were want-
 " ing might be made, to punish every Offender
 " according to the Nature of the Crime: and in
 " the Name of God let the *Guilty* suffer for their
 " own Faults; but the *Innocent* ought not to suf-
 " fer for the Guilty, nor the Whole for any Parti-
 " cular. That surely they would not now (they
 " had tamely got the Sword out of their Hands)
 " rob them of what then was in their Power to
 " have kept; for that would be unjust, and not
 " according to that *Golden Rule*, to do as they
 " would be done by, was the Case reversed, and
 " the contrary Side their own.

" That the said *Articles* were first granted them
 " by the General of the *English Army*, upon the
 " most important consideration of getting the City
 " of *Limerick* into his Hands (when it was in a Con-
 " dition to have held out, till it might have been
 " relieved by the Succours then coming to it from
 " *France*) and for preventing the further *Effusion* of
 " *Blood*, and the other ill Consequences, which (by
 " Reason of the then *Divisions and Disorders*) the

Nation

“ Nation then laboured under ; and for redu-
 “ cing those in Arms against the *English Govern-*
 “ *ment* to its Obedience.

“ That the said *Articles* were *Signed* and
 “ *Perfected* by the said *General*, and the then
 “ Lords Justices of this Kingdom ; and after-
 “ wards *Ratified* by their *Late Majestys*, for
 “ themselves, their *Heirs*, and *Successors* ; and
 “ have been since *confirmed* by an *Act of Parlia-*
 “ *ment* in this Kingdom, viz. *Stat. 9. Guil. 3.*
 “ *Ses. 4. Chap. 27.* (which he there produced
 “ and pleaded,) and said could not be avoid-
 “ ed without *breaking* the said *Articles*, and
 “ the *Publick Faith* thereby plighted to all
 “ those comprized under the said *Articles*, in
 “ the most solemn and engaging Manner, 'tis
 “ possible for any People to lay themselves under,
 “ and than which nothing could be more sa-
 “ cred and binding. That therefore to *violate*,
 “ or *break* those *Articles*, would on the con-
 “ trary be the greatest Injustice possible for
 “ any one People of the whole World to inflict
 “ upon another, and which is contrary to both
 “ the Laws of God and Man.

“ That Pursuant to these *Articles*, all those *Trists*
 “ then in Arms against the Government, did
 “ *submit* thereunto, and *surrendered* the said City
 “ of *Limerick*, and all other Garrisons then re-
 “ maining in their Possession ; and did take such
 “ *Oaths of Fidelity* to the *King* and *Queen*, &c.
 “ as by the said *Articles* they were obliged to, and
 “ were put into Possession of their Estates, &c.
 “ That such their Submission was upon such
 “ Terms, as ought now, and at all Times be *made*
 “ *good to them* : but that if the Bill then before the
 “ House, intituled *An Act to prevent the further*
 “ *Growth of Popery*, should pass into a Law (which
 said

" said, he God forbid) it would be not only a
 " Violation of those *Articles*, but also a manifest
 " Breach of the *Public Faith*, of which the *En-*
 " *glish* had always been most Tender in ma-
 " ny Instances, some of which he there quoted;
 " and that, in particular, in the *Preamble* of the
 " *Act* before mentioned, made for Confirmation
 " of these *Articles*, wherein there is a particular
 " Regard, and Respect had to the *Publick Faith*.

" That since the said *Articles* were thus under
 " the most solemn Ties, and for such valuable
 " Considerations, granted the Petitioners, by no-
 " thing less than the *General* of the *Army*, the
 " *Lords Justices* of the Kingdom, the *King*,
 " *Queen*, and *Parliament*, the *Publick Faith* of the
 " Nation was therein concern'd, obliged, bound,
 " and engaged, as fully, and firmly, as was possible
 " for one People to Pledge Faith to another;
 " that therefore this *Parliament* could not pass
 " such a Bill, as that, Intituled *An Act to pre-*
 " *vent the further Growth of Popery*, then before
 " the House, into a Law, without *infringing*
 " those *Articles*, and a manifest *Breach* of the
 " *Publick Faith*; of which he hop'd that House,
 " would be no less *regardful*, and *tender*, than
 " their *Predecessors*, who made the *Act* for con-
 " firming those *Articles* had been.

" That the Case of the *Gibeonites*, 2 Sam. 21.
 " 1. was a fearful Example of breaking of
 " *Publick Faith*, which above a 100 Years after
 " brought nothing less, than a three Years *Famine*
 " upon the Land, and stay'd not till the Lives
 " of all *Saul's* Family atton'd for it.

" That even among the *Heathens*, and most bar-
 " barous of Nations, all the World over, the *Pub-*
 " *lick Faith* had always been held most sacred, and
 binding,

“ *binding*, that surely it would find no less a Re-
 “ *gard* in that *August* Assembly.

“ That if he proved that the passing that Act,
 “ was such a manifest *Breach* of those *Articles*,
 “ and consequently of the *Publick Faith*, he
 “ hop’d that Honourable House would be very
 “ tender, how they passed the said Bill before
 “ them into a Law ; to the apparent Prejudice
 “ of the Petitioners, and the Hazard of bringing
 “ upon themselves and Posterity, such *Evils*,
 “ *Reproach* and *Infamy*, as the doing the like
 “ had brought upon other Nations and People.

“ Now, that the passing such a Bill, as that
 “ then before the House to prevent the *further*
 “ *Growth* of *Popery*, will be a *Breach* of those *Ar-*
 “ *ticles*, and consequently of the *Publick Faith*, I
 “ prove (said he) by the following *Argument*.

“ The *Argument* then is (said he) whatever
 “ shall be *Enacted* to the *Prejudice* or *Destroy-*
 “ *ing* of any *Obligation*, *Covenant* or *Contract*, in
 “ the most solemn Manner, and for the most va-
 “ luable Consideration enter’d into, is a manifest
 “ *Violation*, and *Destruction* of every such *Obli-*
 “ *gation*, *Covenant* and *Contract* : but the passing
 “ that Bill into a Law, will evidently and abso-
 “ lutely destroy the *Articles* of *Limerick* and *Gal-*
 “ *way*, to all Intents and Purposes, and there-
 “ fore the passing that *Bill* into a *Law*, will be
 “ such a *Breach* of those *Articles*; and consequent-
 “ ly of the *Publick Faith*, plighted for performing
 “ those *Articles* ; which remain’d to be prov’d.

“ The Major is prov’d (said he) for that what-
 “ ever destroys or violates any *Contract* or *Obli-*
 “ *gation*, upon the most valuable Considerations,
 “ most solemnly made, and entered into ; *destroys*
 “ and *violates* the End of every such *Contract* or
 “ *Obligation* : but the *End* and *Design* of those *Ar-*

" *icles* was, that all those therein compriz'd, and
 " every of their Heirs, should *Hold, Possess* and
 " *Enjoy*, all and every of their *Estates* of *Freehold*
 " and *Inheritance*, and all the *Rights, Titles*, and
 " *Interests, Priviledges* and *Immunities*, which
 " they, and every of them held, enjoyed, or were
 " rightfully intituled to, in the Reign of King
 " *Charles* the second; or at any Time since, by
 " the *Laws* and *Statutes* that were in Force in
 " the said Reign in this Realm: but that the
 " Design of this Bill, was to take away every such
 " *Right, Title, Interest, &c.* from every Father
 " being a *Papist*, and to make the *Popish Father*,
 " who by the *Articles* and *Laws*, aforesaid, had an
 " undoubted Right, either to *sell* or otherwise at
 " Pleasure to *dispose* of his Estate, at any Time
 " of his Life, as he thought fit; only *Tenant* for
 " *Life*: and consequently disabled from selling,
 " or otherwise disposing thereof after his Son or
 " other Heir should become Protestant; tho' o-
 " therwise never so disobedient, profligate or extra-
 " vagant: *Ergo*, this Act tends to the *destroying*
 " the End for which those *Articles* were made,
 " and consequently the *breaking* of the *Publick*
 " *Faith*, plighted for their Performance.

" The *Minor* is proved by the 3d, 4th, 5th,
 " 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 15th, 16th, and 17th, Clau-
 " ses of the said Bill, all which (said he) I shall
 " consider and speak to, in the Order as they
 " are placed in the Bill.

" By the first of these *Clauses* (which is the 3d,
 " of the Bill,) I that am the *Popish Father*, with-
 " out committing any *Crime* against the State, or
 " the *Laws* of the *Land*, (by which only I ought
 " to be govern'd) or any other Fault; but meer-
 " ly for being of the *Religion* of my Fore-Fathers,
 " and that which till of late Years, was the *anti-*

ent

" ent Religion of these Kingdoms, contrary to the
 " express Words of the *second Article of Limerick*,
 " and the *Publick Faith*, plighted as aforesaid
 " for their Performance; am *deprived* of my
 " *Inheritance, Freehold, &c.* and of all other *Ad-*
 " *vantages* which by those *Articles*, and the
 " *Laws* of the *Land*, I am intituled to enjoy,
 " equally with every other of my fellow Subjects,
 " whether Protestant or Popish. And tho' such
 " my Estate be even the *Purchase of my own*
 " *hard Labour and Industry*: yet I shall not
 " (tho' my Occasion be never so pressing,) have
 " Liberty (after my eldest Son or other Heir be-
 " comes a Protestant) to *sell, mortgage*, or other-
 " wise dispose of, or charge it for Payment of
 " my Debts; or have Leave out of my own
 " Estate, to order *Portions* for my other Chil-
 " dren; or leave a *Legacy*, tho' never so small,
 " to my poor Father or Mother, or other poor
 " *Relations*; but during my own Life, my Estate
 " shall be given to my Son or other Heir being
 " a *Protestant*, tho' never so undutiful, *profligate*,
 " extravagant or otherwise undeserving; and I
 " that am the *Purchasing Father*, shall become
 " Tenant for Life only, to my own *Purchase*,
 " *Inheritance and Freehold*; which I purchased with
 " my own Money: and such my Son or other
 " Heir, by this *Act*, shall be at Liberty to sell, or
 " otherwise at pleasure to dispose of my Estate,
 " the *Sweat of my Brows*, before my Face; and I
 " that am the *Purchaser*, shall not have Liberty
 " to raise one *Farthing* upon the Estate of my
 " own *Purchase*, either to pay my Debts, or
 " *portion my Daughters*, (if any I have,) or make
 " *Provisions* for my other Male Children tho'
 " never so deserving and dutiful: but my Es-
 " tate and the *Issues* and *Profits* of it, shall be-

" fore my Face, be at the *Disposal* of another,
 " who cannot possibly know, how to distinguish
 " between the dutiful and undutiful, *deserving*,
 " or *undeserving*. Is not this Gentlemen (said he)
 " a *hard Case*? I beseech you *Gentlemen* to con-
 " sider, whether you would not think it so, if
 " the Scale was changed, and the Case your
 " own, as it is like to be ours, if this Bill pass
 " into a Law.

" It is natural for the Father to *Love* the
 " Child, but we all know (says he,) that *Chil-*
 " *dren* are but too apt and subject, without a-
 " ny such Liberty, as this Bill gives, to *slight*
 " and *neglect* their *Duty* to their *Parents*; and
 " surely such an *Act* as this, will not be an *In-*
 " *strument* of *Restraint* but rather encourage
 " them more to it.

" It is but too common with the Son, who
 " has a Prospect of an *Estate*, when once he
 " arrives at the Age of one and twenty, to *think*
 " the *Old Father* too long in the way, between
 " him and it; and how much more will he be sub-
 " ject to it, when by this *Act*, he shall have Li-
 " berty before he comes to that *Age*, to compel
 " and force my *Estate* from me, without asking
 " my Leave, or being lyable to account with
 " me for it, or out of his Share thereof, to a
 " *Moiety* of the *Debts*, *Portions*, or other *Incum-*
 " *brances*, with which the *Estate* might have
 " been charged, before the passing this *Act*.

" Is not this against the *Laws* of *God* and
 " *Man*? against the *Rules* of *Reason* and *Justice*;
 " by which all Men ought to be govern'd?
 " Is not this the only way in the World, to
 " make Children become undutiful? and to
 " bring the *Grey-Head* of the Parent to the
 " Grave, with Grief and Tears.

It

" It would be hard from any Man, but from
 " a Son, a Child, the Fruit of my Body, who I
 " have nurs'd in my Bosom, and tendred more
 " dearly than my own Life, to become my Plun-
 " derer, to rob me of my Estate, to cut my
 " Throat, and to take away my Bread ; is much
 " more grievous than from any other ; and e-
 " nough to make the most flinty of Hearts to
 " bleed, to think on't. And yet this will be the
 " Case if this Bill pass into a Law ; which I hope
 " this Honourable Assembly will not think of,
 " when they shall more seriously consider, and
 " have weigh'd these Matters.

" For God sake Gentlemen, will you consider
 " whether this is according to the Golden Rule,
 " to do as you would be done unto ? And if not,
 " surely you will not, nay you cannot, without
 " being lyable to be charged with the most
 " manifest Unjustice imaginable, take from us
 " our Birth-rights, and invest them in others
 " before our Faces.

" By the 4th Clause of the Bill, the Popish Fa-
 " ther is under the Penalty of 500l. debar'd
 " from being Guardian to, or having the Tuition
 " or Custody of his own Child or Children : but if
 " the Child pretends to be a Protestant, tho'
 " never so young, or incapable of Judging of
 " the Principles of any Religion, it shall be ta-
 " ken from its own Father, and put into the
 " Hands or Care of a Protestant Relation, if
 " any there be qualify'd as this Act directs, for
 " Tuition, tho' never so great an Enemy to the
 " Popish Parent ; and for want of Relations so
 " qualify'd, into the Hands and Tuition of such
 " Protestant Stranger, as the Court of Chancery
 " shall think fit to appoint ; who perhaps may
 " likewise be my Enemy, and out of Prejudice
 to

“ to me who am the *Papish Father*, shall in-
 “ fuse into my Child, not only such Principles
 “ of Religion, as are wholly inconsistent with
 “ my liking; but also against the *Duty* which
 “ by the *Laws* both of *God* and *Nature*, is
 “ due from every Child to its Parents: And it
 “ shall not be in my power to remedy, or
 “ question him for it; and yet I shall be obli-
 “ ged to pay for such Education, how pernicious
 “ soever. Nay if a *Legacy* or *Estate* fall to any
 “ of my *Children* being *Minors*, I that am the
 “ *Papish Father*, shall not have the Liberty to
 “ take care of it, but it shall be put into the
 “ Hands of a Stranger; and tho’ I see it con-
 “ founded before my Face, it shall not be in
 “ my Power to help it. Is not this a hard
 “ Case *Gentlemen*? I am sure you cannot but
 “ allow it to be a very hard Case.

“ The 5th *Clause*, provides that no *Pro-*
 “ *testant* or *Protestants*, having any *Estate Real*
 “ or *Personal*, within this Kingdom, shall at any
 “ Time after the 24th of *March* 1703, *Inter-*
 “ *marry* with any *Papist*, either in or out of this
 “ Kingdom, under the Penalties in an *Act* made
 “ in the 9th of King *William*, intituled an *Act*
 “ *to prevent Protestants Inter-marrying with Pa-*
 “ *pists*; which Penalties, see in the 5th *Clause* of
 “ the *Act* it self, toward the latter End of this
 “ *Treatise*.

“ Surely, *Gentlemen*, this is such a Law as
 “ was never heard of before, and against the
 “ *Law of Right*, and the *Law of Nations*; and
 “ therefore a Law which is not in the power of
 “ Mankind to make, without breaking thro’
 “ the Laws which our wise Ancestors prudently
 “ provided for the *Security* of *Posterity*, and
 “ which you cannot *Infringe*, without hazard-
 ing

“ ing the undermining the whole *Legislature*, and
 “ inroaching upon the Privileges of your neigh-
 “ bouring Nations which it is not reasonable
 “ to believe they will allow.

“ It has indeed been known, that there
 “ hath been Laws made in *England*, that
 “ have been binding in *Ireland*: but surely
 “ it never was known, that any Law made in
 “ *Ireland*, could affect *England* or any other
 “ Country. But by this *Act* a Person commit-
 “ ting *Matrimony* (an Ordinance of the Al-
 “ mighty) in *England*, or any other Part be-
 “ yond the Seas (where it is Lawful both by
 “ the Laws of God and Man, so to do) if ever
 “ they come to live in *Ireland*, and have an
 “ Inheritance or Title to any Interest to the
 “ Value of 500*l*. they shall be punish'd for a
 “ Fact consonant with the Laws of the Land
 “ where it was committed. But, *Gentlemen*, by
 “ your Favour, this is what, with Submission, is
 “ not in your Power to do: For no Law that
 “ either now is, or that hereafter shall be in Force
 “ in this Kingdom, shall be able to take Cog-
 “ nizance of any Fact committed in another
 “ Nation: nor can any one Nation make
 “ Laws for any other Nation, but what is sub-
 “ ordinate to it, as *Ireland* is to *England*; but
 “ no other Nation is subordinate to *Ireland*;
 “ and therefore any Laws made in *Ireland*, can-
 “ not punish me for any Fact committed in
 “ any other Nation, but more especially *Eng-*
 “ *land*, to whom *Ireland* is subordinate: And
 “ the Reason is, every free Nation, such as all
 “ our neighbouring Nations are, by the great
 “ Law of Nature, and the universal Priviledges
 “ of all Nations, have an undoubted Right to
 “ make, and be ruled and governed by Laws
 of

“ of their own making : For that to submit to
 “ any other, would be to give away their own
 “ Birth-right, and Native Freedom ; and become
 “ subordinate to their Neighbours, as we of
 “ this Kingdom since the making of *Poyning's*
 “ Act, have been, and are to *England*. A
 “ Right which *England* would never so much
 “ as endure to hear of, much less to submit to.

“ We see how careful our Forefathers have
 “ been to provide that no Man should be pu-
 “ nish'd in one County (even of the same
 “ Nation) for Crimes committed in another
 “ County ; and surely it would be highly un-
 “ reasonable, and contrary to the Laws of all
 “ Nations in the whole World, to punish me
 “ in this Kingdom, for a Fact committed in
 “ *England*, or any other Nation, which was
 “ not against, but consistent with the Laws of
 “ the Nation, where it was committed. I am
 “ sure there is not any Law in any other Na-
 “ tion of the World that would do it.

“ The 6th Clause of this *Bill*, is likewise a
 “ manifest Breach of the second of *Limerick*
 “ Articles, for by that Article, all Persons com-
 “ priz'd under those Articles, were to enjoy,
 “ and have the full Benefit of all the Rights,
 “ Titles, Priviledges and Immunities whatsoever ;
 “ which they enjoyed, or by the Laws of the
 “ Land then in Force, were Intituled to enjoy,
 “ in the Reign of King Charles II. And by the
 “ Laws then in Force, all the *Papists of Ireland*,
 “ had the same Liberty, that any of their fel-
 “ low Subjects had, to purchase any *Manors*,
 “ Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, *Loases* of
 “ Lives, or for Years, Rents, or any other
 “ thing of Profit whatsoever : But by this
 “ Clause of this Bill, every *Papist* or Person pro-
 fessing

“ felling the *Popish Religion*, after the 24th
 “ of *March 1703*, is made incapable of *pur-*
 “ *chasing* any *Manors, Lands, Tenements, Here-*
 “ *ditaments*, or any *Rents, or Profits* out of the
 “ same; or holding any *Lease of Lives*, or any
 “ other *Lease* whatsoever, for any Term ex-
 “ ceeding 31 years; wherein a Rent, not less
 “ than two Thirds of the improved yearly Va-
 “ lue, shall be reserved, and made payable, du-
 “ ring the whole Term: and therefore this
 “ Clause of this *Bill*, if made into a Law, will
 “ be a manifest Breach of those *Articles*.

“ The 7th *Clause*, is yet of much more general
 “ Consequence, and not only a like Breach of
 “ those *Articles*, but also a manifest robbing of
 “ all the *Roman Catholics* of the Kingdom of
 “ their *Birthright*: For by those *Articles*, all
 “ those therein comprized, were (said he) par-
 “ doned all Misdemeanors whatsoever, of which
 “ they had in any manner of Way been guilty;
 “ and restored to all the *Rights, Liberties, Privi-*
 “ *ledges* and *Immunities* whatever, which, by the
 “ *Laws of the Land, and Customs, Constitutions*
 “ and *native Birthright*, they, any, and every
 “ of them, were, equally with every other of
 “ their Fellow-subjects, intituled unto. And by
 “ the *Laws of Nature and Nations*, as well as
 “ by the *Laws of the Land*, every *Native* of
 “ any *Country*, has an undoubted *Right* and *just*
 “ *Title* to all the *Priviledges* and *Advantages*,
 “ which such their native Country affords: And
 “ surely no Man but will allow, that by such a
 “ *native Right*, every one born in any Country,
 “ hath an *undoubted Right* to the Inheritance of
 “ his *Father*, or any other, to whom he, or they
 “ may be *Heir at Law*: But if this *Bill pass*
 “ into a Law, every Native of this Kingdom,

T

that

" that is and shall remain a *Papist*, is, *ipso facto*,
 " during Life, or his or their continuing a *Pa-*
 " *pist*, deprived of such *Inheritance, Devise, Gift,*
 " *Remainder, or Trust*, of any *Lands, Tenements,*
 " or *Herediments*, of which any Protestant
 " now is, or hereafter shall be seized in *Fee-sim-*
 " *ple absolute, or Fee-tail*, which by the Death of
 " such Protestant, or his Wife, ought to descend
 " immediately to his Son or Sons, or other *Issue* in
 " *Tail*, being such *Papists*, and 18 Years of Age;
 " or, if under that Age, within 6 Months after
 " coming to that Age, shall not conform to the
 " Church of *Ireland*, as by Law established;
 " and every such *Devise, Gift, Remainder, or*
 " *Trust*, which, according to the *Laws of the*
 " *Land*, and such *native Right*, ought to de-
 " scend to such *Papist*, shall, during the Life of
 " such *Papist* (unless he forsake his Religion,)
 " descend to the *nearest Relation* that is a *Prote-*
 " *stant*, and his Heirs, being and continuing *Pro-*
 " *testants*, as tho' the said *Papist Heir* and all
 " other *Papist Relations* were dead; without be-
 " ing accountable for the same: Which is No-
 " thing less than *robbing* such *Papist Heir* of
 " such his *Birth-right*; for no other Reason,
 " but his being and continuing of that Religion,
 " which by the *first* of *Limerick Articles*, the
 " *Roman-Catholics* of this Kingdom were to en-
 " joy, as they did in the Reign of King *Charles*
 " *II.* and then there was no Law in Force, that
 " deprived any *Roman-Catholic* of this Kingdom
 " of any such their *native Birth-right*, or any
 " other Thing, which, by the *Laws of the Land*
 " then in Force, any other Fellow-subjects were
 " intitled unto.
 " The 8th Clause of this Bill, is to erect in
 " this Kingdom a Law of Gavel-kind a Law in
 itself

" itself so monstrous and strange, that I dare
 " say this is the first Time it was ever heard
 " of in the World; a Law so pernicious and
 " destructive to the Well-being of *Families* and
 " *Societies*, that in an Age or two, there will
 " hardly be any Remembrance of any of the
 " antient *Roman-Catholic Families* known in the
 " Kingdom; a Law which therefore I may a-
 " gain venture to say, was never before known
 " or heard of in the Universe.
 " There is, indeed, in *Kent*, a Custom, call'd
 " the Custom of *Gavel-kind*; but I never heard
 " of any Law for it till now; and that Custom
 " is far different from what by this Bill is intend-
 " ed to be made a Law; for there, and by that
 " Custom, the Father, or other Person, dying pos-
 " sessed of any Estate of his own Acquisition, or
 " not entailed, (let him be of what Persuasion he
 " will) may by Will bequeath it at Pleasure. Or
 " if he dies without Will, the Estate shall not
 " be divided, if there be any male Heir to in-
 " herit it; but for want of male Heir, then it
 " shall descend in *Gavel-kind* among the *Daugh-*
 " *ters*, and not otherwise. But by this Act, for
 " Want of a Protestant Heir, enroled as such
 " within three Months after the Death of such
 " Papist, to be divided, Share and Share like, a-
 " mong all his Sons; for Want of Sons, among
 " his Daughters; for Want of such, among the
 " collateral Kindred of his Father; and in Want
 " of such, among those of his Mother; and this
 " is to take Place of any Grant, Settlement, &c.
 " other than Sale, for valuable Consideration of
 " Money, really, *bona fide*, paid. And shall I not
 " call this a strange Law? Surely it is a strange
 " Law, which, contrary to the *Laws* of all Na-
 " tions, thus confounds all Settlements, how an-

“ *tient* soever, or otherwise warrantable by all
 “ the *Laws* heretofore in Force, in this, or any
 “ other Kingdom.

“ The 9th *Clause* of this *Act*, is another ma-
 “ nifest *Breach* of the *Articles of Limerick*; for
 “ by the 9th of those *Articles*, no Oath is to be
 “ administered to, nor imposed upon such *Roman*
 “ *Catholics*, as should submit to the Government,
 “ but the Oath of *Allegiance*, appointed by an
 “ *Act of Parliament made in England, in the first*
 “ *Year of the Reign of their late Majesties KING*
 “ *WILLIAM, and QUEEN MARY, (which is the*
 “ *same with the first of those appointed by the 10th*
 “ *Clause of this Act:)* But by this *Clause*, none
 “ shall have the Benefit of this *Act*, that shall
 “ not conform to the Church of Ireland, sub-
 “ scribe the *Declaration*, and take and subscribe
 “ the Oath of *Abjuration*, appointed by the 9th
 “ *Clause* of this *Act*; and therefore this *Act* is a
 “ manifest *Breach* of those *Articles*, &c. and a
 “ Force upon all the *Roman-Catholics* therein com-
 “ prized, either to abjure their *Religion*, or part
 “ with their *Birth-rights*; which, by those *Arti-*
 “ *cles*, they were, and are, as fully, and as right-
 “ fully intitled unto, as any other Subjects
 “ whatever.

“ The 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th, *Clau-*
 “ *ses* of this *Bill*, (said he) relate to *Offices* and
 “ *Employments*, which the *Papists of Ireland* can-
 “ not hope for the Enjoyment of, otherwise than
 “ by Grace and Favour extraordinary; and
 “ therefore, do not so much affect them, as it
 “ does the *Protestant Dissenters*, who (if this *Bill*
 “ pass into a Law) are equally with the *Papists*
 “ deprived of bearing any *Office, civil or mili-*
 “ *tary*, under the Government, to which by Right
 “ of *Birth*, and the *Laws* of the *Land*, they
 are

“ are as indisputably intituled, as any other their
 “ *Protestant Brethren*: And if what the *Irish* did
 “ in the late Disorders of this Kingdom, made
 “ them *Rebels*, (which the Presence of a King,
 “ they had before been obliged to own, and
 “ swear Obedience to, gave them a reasonable
 “ Colour of concluding it did not,) yet surely
 “ the *Dissenters* did not do any Thing to make
 “ them so; or to deserve worse at the Hands of
 “ the Government, than other *Protestants*; but,
 “ on the Contrary, it is more than probable, that
 “ if they, (I mean the *Dissenters*) had not put a
 “ Stop to the Career of the *Irish* Army at *Eni-*
 “ *skillen*, and *London-Derry*; the Settlement of
 “ the Government, both in *England* and *Scotland*,
 “ might not have proved so easy, as it thereby
 “ did; for if that Army had got to *Scotland*, (as
 “ there was Nothing at that Time to have hin-
 “ dered them, but the Bravery of those People,
 “ who were mostly *Dissenters*, and chargeable
 “ with no other Crimes since; unless their close
 “ adhering to, and early appearing for the then
 “ Government, and the many faithful Services they
 “ did their Country, were Crimes) I say (said he)
 “ if they had got to *Scotland*, when they had
 “ Boats, Barks, and all Things else ready for
 “ their Transportation, and a great many Friends
 “ there in Arms, waiting only their coming to
 “ join them; it is easy to think, what the Con-
 “ sequence would have been to both these King-
 “ doms; and these *Dissenters* then were thought
 “ fit for Command, both civil and military, and
 “ were no less instrumental in contributing to
 “ the Reducing the Kingdom, than any other
 “ *Protestants*: And to pass a Bill now, to de-
 “ prive them of their *Birth-rights*, (for those
 “ their good Services,) would surely be a most
 “ unkind

“ unkind Return, and the worst Reward ever
 “ granted to a People so deserving. Whatever the
 “ *Papists* may be supposed to have deserved, the
 “ *Dissenters* certainly stand as clean in the Face
 “ of the present Government, as any other Peo-
 “ ple whatsoever : And if this is all the Return
 “ they are like to get, it will be but a slender
 “ Encouragement, if ever Occasion should re-
 “ quire, for others to pursue their Examples.

“ By the 15th, 16th, and 17th, *Clauses* of
 “ this *Bill*, all *Papists*, after the 24th of *March*
 “ 1703, are prohibited from *Purchasing* any
 “ Houses or Tenements, or coming to dwell in
 “ *Limerick* or *Galway*, or the *Suburbs* of either,
 “ and even such as were under the *Articles*, and
 “ by Virtue thereof have ever since lived there,
 “ from staying there ; without giving such *Secu-*
 “ *rity* as neither those *Articles*, nor any Law
 “ heretofore in Force, do require ; except *Sea-*
 “ *men*, *Fishermen*, and *Day-Labourers*, who pay
 “ not above forty Shillings a Year Rent, and
 “ from voting for the *Election* of *Members* of
 “ *Parliament*, unless they take the *Oath* of *Abju-*
 “ *ration* ; which, to oblige them to, is contrary
 “ to the 9th of *Limerick Articles* ; which, as a-
 “ foresaid, says, the *Oath* of *Allegiance*, and no
 “ other, shall be imposed upon them ; and, un-
 “ less they *abjure* their Religion, takes away
 “ their *Advowsons* and Right of *Presentation*,
 “ contrary to the *Privilege* of *Right*, the *Laws*
 “ of *Nations*, and the *Great Charter* of *Magna*
 “ *Charta* ; which provides, that no Man shall
 “ be disseized of his *Birthright*, without commit-
 “ ting some Crime against the known *Laws* of
 “ the *Land* in which he is born, or inhabits
 “ And if there was no Law in Force, in the
 “ Reign of King *Charles* the II. against these
 Things,

“ Things (as there certainly was not) and if the
 “ *Roman-Catholics* of this Kingdom have not
 “ since forfeited their Right to the Laws that
 “ then were in Force; (as for certain they have
 “ not) then with humble Submission, all the a-
 “ forefaid *Clauses* and Matters contained in this
 “ *Bill*, intituled, *An Act to prevent the further*
 “ *Growth of Popery*, are directly againſt the
 “ plain Words and true Intent and Meaning of
 “ the ſaid *Articles*, and a *Violation of the pub-*
 “ *lick Faith*, and the Laws made for their *Per-*
 “ *formance*; and what I therefore hope (ſaid he)
 “ this Honourable Houſe will conſider accord-
 “ ingly.”

Counſellor *Malone* and Sir *Stephen Rice* made
 Diſcourſes on the ſame Side; the latter, not as
 a Counſel, but as a Petitioner, likely to be ag-
 grieved by the paſſing of the ſaid Act: But in
 the Courſe of the Reply to the Arguments of
 thoſe Gentlemen, it was objected, that they had
 not demonſtrated *how* and *when* (ſince the mak-
 ing of the *Articles of Limerick*) the *Papiſts* of
Ireland had addreſſed the Queen or Government,
 when all other Subjects were ſo doing, or had
 otherwiſe declared their Fidelity and Obedience
 to the Queen.

It was (among other Things) obſerved, that
 by a Proviſo at the latter End of the ſecond of
 thoſe *Articles*, none was to have or enjoy the
 Benefit thereof, that ſhould reſuſe to take the
 Oath of Allegiance.

That any Right which the *Papiſts* pretended
 to be taken from them by the *Bill*, was in their
 own Power to remedy, by *conforming*; as in
 Prudence, they ought to do; and that they
 ought not to blame any but themſelves.

The

The next Day the Bill was ordered to be engrossed and sent to the Lords.

The Petitioners having applied to the Lords also, for Leave to be heard by their Counsel against the Bill, the same was granted; and the same Counsel, upon *Monday, February 28th*, appeared there, and offered such-like Arguments as they had made Use of in the other House: They told their Lordships, that it had been objected by the Commons, that the passing that Bill would not be a Breach of the Articles of *Limerick*, as had been suggested; because, the Persons therein comprized were only to be put into the same State they were in the Reign of *Charles II.* and because, that in that Reign there was no Law in Force which hindered the passing any other Law thought needful for the future Safety of the Government. That the Commons had further sayed, that the passing this Bill was needful at present, for the Security of the Kingdom; and that there was not any Thing in the Articles of *Limerick* that prohibited their so doing.

It was admitted, on the Part of the Petitioners, that the Legislative Power cannot be confined from altering and making such Laws as shall be thought necessary, for securing the Quiet and Safety of the Government; that in Time of War or Danger, or when there shall be just Reason to suspect any ill Designs to disturb the public Peace, no Articles or previous Obligations, shall tie up the Hands of the Legislators from providing for its Safety, or bind the Government from disarming and securing any, who may be reasonably suspected of favouring or corresponding with its Enemies, or to be otherwise guilty of ill Practices: "Or in deed

" deed to enact any other Law," said Sir *Stephen Rice*, " that may be absolutely needful for
 " the Safety and Advantage of the Public ;
 " such a Law cannot be a Breach ei-
 " ther of these, or any other like Articles. But
 " then such Laws, ought to be in
 " general, and should not single out, or affect,
 " any one particular Part or Party of the Peo-
 " ple, who gave no Provocation to any such
 " Law, and whose Conduct stood hitherto un-
 " impeached, ever since the Ratification of the
 " aforesaid Articles of *Limerick*. — To make
 " any Law that shall single any particular Part
 " of the People out from the Rest, and take
 " from them what, by Right of Birth, and all
 " the preceding Laws of the Land had been
 " confirmed to, and intailed upon them, will,
 " be an apparent Violation of the original In-
 " stitution of all Right, and an ill Preident to
 " any that hereafter might dislike either the
 " present or any other Settlement, which should
 " be in their Power to alter ; the Consequence
 " of which is hard to imagine."

The Lord Chancellor having summed up all
 that had been offered at the Bar, the House pro-
 ceeded thereupon ; the Bill was read through ;
 and, to the great Mortification of that unhappy
 Party, was passed ; and upon the 4th of *March*
 obtained the Royal Assent.

[No. VII.]

Extract of King James's Proclamation.

Anno, 1603.

“ **A**MONGST which foreign Powers, al-
 “ though we acknowledge ourselves to be
 “ so much beholden to the now Bishop of Rome;
 “ for his kind Offices, and private temporal
 “ Carriage towards us, in many Things, as
 “ we shall be ever ready to requite the same to-
 “ wards him, as Bishop of Rome, in State and
 “ Condition of a temporal Prince,” &c.

[No. VIII.]

*Extract of the SUPPLICATION of the English
 Roman Catholics to King James, and the States
 of the Parliament, Anno, 1604. From Sir
 Peter Pett's Happy Future State of England,
 Preface.*

“ **T**HAT as to the Loyalty of their Priests,
 “ they shall readily take their corporal
 “ Oaths for continuing their true Allegiance to
 “ his Majesty, or the State; or, in Case that
 “ be not thought Assurance enough, that they
 “ shall give in sufficient Sureties, one or more,
 “ who shall stand bound, Life for Life, for the
 “ Performance of the said Allegiance: And fur-
 “ ther, that if any of their Number be not able
 “ to put in such Security; that then they will
 “ all join in such Supplication to the Pope, for
 “ recalling such Priests out of the Land.”

[No.

Extract of a Paper privately written by Sir Everard Digby, in Prison, and now published as authentic, by the Bishop of Lincoln, in his History of the Gun-powder-Treason, p. 241.

T E S T S.

“ I HAVE not named any, either living or
 “ dead, that should have hurt my Lord Sa-
 “isbury, (Cecil;) and only intended these ge-
 “neral Informations, to procure me Access of
 “some Friend, that I might inform my Know-
 “ledge: For I never intended to hurt any
 “Creature, though it would have gained me all
 “the World. As yet they have not got of me
 “the affirming that I know any Priest particu-
 “larly, nor shall ever do, to the Hurt of any
 “but myself. — Now for my Intention:
 “Let me tell you, That if I had thought there
 “had been the least Sin in the Plot, I would
 “not have been of it for all the World: And
 “no other Cause drew me to hazard my For-
 “tune and Life, but Zeal to God's Religion.—
 “But now let me tell you, what Grief it hath
 “been to me to hear *that* so much condemned,
 “which I did believe, would have been other-
 “wise thought on by Catholics: There is no
 “other Cause but this, which hath made me
 “desire Life: For when I came into Prison,
 “Death would have been a welcome Friend
 “unto me, and was most desired; but when I
 “heard how Catholics and Priests thought of
 “the Matter, and that it should be a great Sin
 that

" that should be the Cause of my Death, it
 " called my Conscience in Doubt, and my very
 " best Actions, and Intentions, in Question :
 " For I knew that myself might easily be de-
 " ceived in such a Business. Therefore I pro-
 " test unto you, that the Doubts I had of my
 " own good State, which only proceed from the
 " Censure of others, caused more Bitterness of
 " Grief in me, than all the Miseries I ever suf-
 " fered ; and only this caused me to wish Life,
 " until I might meet with a ghostly Friend,
 " For some good Space I could do Nothing,
 " but with Tears ask Pardon at God's Hands,
 " both in Actions, and Intentions, in this Busi-
 " ness, and in my whole Life ; which the Cen-
 " sure of this, contrary to my Expectance,
 " caused me to doubt : I did humbly beseech,
 " that my Death might satisfy for my Offence,
 " which I should and shall offer most gladly to
 " the Giver of Life. I assure you, as I hope
 " God, that the Love of my Estate and world-
 " ly Happiness, did never trouble me, nor the
 " Love of it, since my Imprisonment, did move
 " me to wish Life. But, if that I may live to
 " make Satisfaction to God and the World,
 " where I have given any Scandal ; I shall not
 " grieve, if I should never look living Creature
 " in the Face again ; and, besides that Depriv-
 " ation, endure all worldly Misery," &c.

*Extract of a Letter of Henry Earl of Clarendon,
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to the Earl of Sun-
derland, principal Secretary of State to King
James II. Dublin Castle, Novemb. 20th 1686.*

“ **T**HERE have of late been great
 “ Rumours in the Counties of *Waterford*,
 “ and *Cork*, of *Plots*, and *Designs* of *Rising*.
 “ Sometimes it was pretended, that the *English*
 “ would cut the Throats of the *Irish*, and some-
 “ times, that the *Irish* would do the same to
 “ the *English*; which caused great Fears among
 “ the poor People: Inſomuch, that many of
 “ them left their Houses, and lay in the Fields.
 “ Several Informations were brought to me of
 “ *great Meetings in the Night, of armed Men*;
 “ which I cauſed to be ſtrictly examined; and
 “ ſeveral to be bound over to be proſecuted,
 “ who were informed againſt; and being *well*
 “ *ſatisfied*, by the Officers of the Army, who
 “ were quartered at the Places, where the Night-
 “ meetings were pretended to be, that they
 “ could find no *Probability* nor *Foot-ſteps* of any
 “ ſuch Meetings, I directed the Juſtices of Peace
 “ at the Michaelmas-Sessions to give it in Charge
 “ to the Grand Juries to *preſent* all thoſe reports
 “ of Riſings, as ſpread with a malicious Intention
 “ to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom; and, if
 “ it be poſſible, thereby to *find out the firſt Broa-*
 “ *chers of thoſe Reports*, that they may be pro-
 “ ceeded againſt according to Law. This had a good
 “ Effect: Several Perſons were indicted, and Peo-
 “ ple have been very quiet, as to that Matter,
 “ ever

“ ever since, in *Munster*; the Troops having Or-
 “ ders still to watch whether there are any Night-
 “ meetings, and to give an Account of them.
 “ The like Alarms are now again very warmly
 “ spread in other Parts of the Kingdom, especi-
 “ ally at the Beginning of this Month, in the
 “ Counties of *West-meath* and *Longford*. I should
 “ not have given your Lordship the Trouble of
 “ an Account thereof; but that the Alarm given
 “ lately at *Athlone* makes a great Noise here,
 “ and probably may be written into *England*;
 “ and therefore I think it fit to give your Lord-
 “ ship the State of it, that you may know the
 “ Truth, in Case you hear of it otherwise. It
 “ is originally grounded upon a Letter from
 “ Father *Ambrose Fitz-Gerald* to Mr. *Jo. Malone*,
 “ a Justice of the Peace; which Mr. *Malone*
 “ sent to Mr. *Fallon*, Sovereign of *Athlone*, who
 “ transmitted them to Sir *P. Rycant*: Copies of
 “ all which three Letters I here send to your
 “ Lordship. I believe never were People al-
 “ larmed upon slighter Grounds: However,
 “ though I was assured by several honest Gentle-
 “ men, both *Irish* as well as *English*, who came
 “ to *Town* through that Country at that same
 “ Time, that there was not the least Colour for
 “ those Reports, and that the good Friar, Father
 “ *Ambrose*, was too easily frightened, as an honest
 “ *Roman-Catholic* Gentleman told me; yet I
 “ thought it fit for me to make the utmost En-
 “ quiry into the whole Matter, both in my Du-
 “ ty to the King to preserve the Peace of the
 “ Country, and likewise to satisfy the poor
 “ frightened People, that there was no Cause for
 “ their Fears. I therefore sent to several Justi-
 “ ces of the Peace of both Religions to make
 “ all possible Search into the Grounds
 of

of the Reports, and to find out the first Broachers : Several Examinations have been taken, and no Proof made of the Numbers of armed Men, which were said to have appeared in particular Places, nor the Grounds of the frightful Reports yet discovered. I have caused a Narrative to be drawn out of the most material Examinations, which are yet taken, that your Lordship may give the King an Account of the Whole. Such Persons as are therein mentioned, and who have not yet been examined, I have ordered to be examined; and, as soon as they are returned, your Lordship shall have an Account thereof.

I have appointed the Sovereign of *Athlone* to dismiss his Watch, and to believe the Town safe under the Care of the King's Soldiers: * Major O'Connor's Troop of Dragoons is quartered there. I doubt not, but this close Examining of every body will quickly make every body quiet, and put an End to these false Alarms. I likewise send your Lordship a Copy of Father *Ambrose Fitz-Gerald's* Examination, which I ordered to be taken after I had seen his Letter to Mr. *Jo. Malone*. I beg your Lordship's Pardon for the Length of this Letter, and am with great Respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's, &c.

CLARENDON. C. P. S.

* OWEN O'CONNOR of Belinagare in the County of Roscommon Esq; He followed the Fortune of the Royal Family, when in Exile, was appointed Major in his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester's Regiment, and was, on the Restoration of CHARLES the 2d. restored to his Estate, by a Clause in the Act of Settlement.

F I N I S.

...that your thinking is good, the thing which

ERRATA in the *Essay*.

Page 5, last Line, dele *and two or three other Priests.* --

Pa. 6, first L. for *were* read *was*--ib. second and last
| for *they* r *he*--ib for *their* r *his*--ib after *that*

infer *be*,--P. 7, l. first, for *they*, r. *be*--ib. line the se-

l. 4th for *their*, r. *his*.--ib. l. 5, for *they were*, r. *be*

was.--ib. l. 6, for *they*, r. *be*.--ib. l. 7, for *their*, r. *bis*.--P. 8. l. 16, after *diverse* insert *of bis*.--P. 14, last

1. but one, of the Notes; for *P.* 49, insert *P.* 47.--ib.
after so, put *See SAUNDERSON's; K. James. P.* 325.

--Page 17, Notes, l. 7, instead of *Rap. K. JAMES*,
read *Bishop of Lexington's Hist. of the Gunpowder Plot*

--P. 19, Notes, l. 7, after *acquit*, delete *the Pope and* --B.

29, l. 4, for 1609, r. 1608.—P. 39, l. 13, after *that*
Letter, add *from Lord MONTEAGLE*.—P. 41, Notes,

last line, for P. 320, r. P. 326,—P. 43, Notes, l. 4,
after the word *Trial*, instead of *id. ib.* insert *Bishop of*

LINCOLN'S *Hist. &c.*--P. 57, Notes, line 2, for
Doct^r Cartelon : *Doct^r Carleton*. P. 59, Notes, line

1, for *id. ib.* read HUMES *Reign of the STUARTS*.--P.
it Names & office insert for Attending B. 62. Notes

16. Notes, last line, insert, *see appendix*.--P. 63, Notes, last line, for 1763, read 1761.--P. 70, Notes, l. 3, for

Bp. of London, read Bishop of Lincoln.

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